

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—Proverbs xxi. 8, 9.

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"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of municipal institutions, Slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where Slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."—JOHN Q. ADAMS.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

It is exceedingly difficult to speak or to write on this subject without to some extent giving aid and comfort to the rebels. The war itself, unhappily, has thus far given very little else than aid and comfort to them.—Their hopes of breaking up the Union, and of establishing a grand slaveholding empire in which slaveholders alone shall be the law-givers, seems to increase with every step in the progress of the war. Difficult however as it is to write, we must endeavor to present to our readers and friends on both sides of the Atlantic, as best we may, our monthly view of the war, its character, progress and effects. Nothing is gained by partial statements, unsupported by facts; and however humiliating and saddening the truth may be, a brave man is sternly prepared to know the worst. Much has been hoped from the virtue, enlightenment, wealth and humanity of our present Administration; but thus far very little has been accomplished to justify the hopes and expectations of the friends of justice and humanity. To tell the simple truth, we can only report in this our September number, after waiting for events up to the last hour, for something to relieve the picture of its sombre aspect—what in substance we have reported before, with every variation of rhetoric we could command, that our National Republican Administration at Washington still seems very earnestly endeavoring to find out how *not* to put down and destroy this monstrous slaveholding rebellion. Their ef-

forts in this direction have been crowned by entire success. Had our President and Cabinet avowed their purpose to prosecute the war with weakness instead of vigor, with awkwardness rather than skill, to shed loyal blood rather than that of the rebels, to spend the most money to the least advantage, they could not have reached that result by any other course sooner than by that which they have thus far pursued. In nearly every battle of importance we have managed to give the rebels the victory. We are beaten in every battle, till dissatisfaction and demoralization has become the leading features of the news from our army at Washington. Never was a vast stock of popular confidence so speedily dissipated. Nor is this strange. No people can long confide in the ability and integrity of a Government whose career is only marked with disappointments, blunders and defeats.

Among the bad symptoms of the times is the revival of old political divisions at the North. These, after having disappeared amid the smoke and flame of the bombardment of Sumter, it was hoped never to return again, have now re-appeared and threaten to rage with all the malignant fury, and with all the hurtful consequences which have marked their history in other times. Insecurity, vacillation, imbecility are now openly flaunted in the face of the Administration, not only by pro-slavery Democrats, but by men who a few months ago were its warm defenders and supporters. This is no flippant declamation, no wholesale invective, but the impression derived from a sober observation of the general state of facts. All over the North men are beginning to feel that unless the Government shall speedily redeem itself, by some direct and powerful proceeding, the last remaining vestige of public confidence in it will be swept away.

Examine its war history. Did ever a Government present to the world a more disheartening record? Leaving out the horrible butchery of our troops at Great Bethel and Vienna, through the ignorance and blunders of their officers, the country had scarcely recovered from the shock caused by the still more dreadful battle at Manassas Junction, where our valiant troops were led like lambs to the slaughter, shot down by tens and hundreds by concealed foes, from rifle pits, trenches, and masked batteries, till they fled panic-stricken from the impregnable fortifications of the enemy like very chaff before a furious whirlwind;—we say, scarcely had we thus been humbled by this terrible calamity, when on comes another from the seat of war in Missouri. Cover up the fact as we may, the Federal army met with a most heart-rending reverse in the South-west, the actual damage of which can hardly be estimated.—Our gallant little army of five thousand men, under General Lyon, were left by the Government to be defeated and cut to pieces, if not destroyed, by a rebel army of five times their number. The blood of the brave and faith-

ful Lyon now cries from the ground against the Government. Never was a General, so brave and patriotic, thus mercilessly and ungratefully sacrificed by the country. He had called loud and earnestly upon the Government for reinforcements; but the Government was practically deaf to the call, and left him and his brave companions either to perform a miracle, or to be completely overwhelmed by superior numbers. They performed wonders. They were terrific in all the elements of courage; but alas! they were only five thousand arrayed against twenty five thousand, and were defeated. Shame upon the neglect that left them to such a fate!

We are writing on the progress of the War; but is not this really a misnomer? Has the Government actually made any progress at all? Are we not now even in a worse condition than at the beginning? The Capital was in danger in May, and it is in no less danger in August. Our newspapers flamed then with alarming telegrams of the advance of the Confederate forces upon Washington. They so flame now. In fact, we seem to be nearly in the same condition that we were in when Major ANDERSON was compelled to give up the shattered walls of Fort Sumter. The enemy is now as proud, confident and defiant as at the beginning, and the promised suppression of rebellion seems as far off as ever.

It is not at all surprising that this state of facts should measurably destroy the vast stock of public confidence reposed in the Government at the beginning of the war, and such is really the case whatever show may be made to the contrary by great money loans to the Government. The feeling is becoming general that a new element must be infused into the Government forces, and that unless a new turn is given to the conflict, and that without delay, we might as well remove Mr. LINCOLN out of the President's chair, and respectfully invite JEFFERSON DAVIS or some other slaveholding rebel to take his place.—The conduct of the Government has been such as to weaken its friends, and in many respects to strengthen its enemies. Witness the fact that it has retained in offices of profit and honor, where they could be of the utmost service to the rebels, persons that refused to swear to support the Constitution under which they were protected and honored. Witness the release of rebel prisoners simply upon their word of honor, which word was already dishonored by the blackest treason. Witness the toleration of BRECKINRIDGE, BURNETT and VALLANDIGHAM in Congress, whose sole business there during the whole session was to give aid and comfort to the rebels, and to cripple the Government.—Witness the repeated and uncontradicted assertion of the reporters at Washington, that until recently the rebels had troops of spies and informers, men and women in that city.—Witness the oft-repeated and shameless declaration of nearly all our Generals—doubtless with the approbation of the President him-

self—that slaves rising against the rebels for their liberty should be suppressed with an 'iron arm.' Witness General BANKS sending back to slavery, and probably to a lingering death by torture, fifteen slaves to their so-called loyal masters. Witness the unchanged pirates now in New York, with every probability of their being finally released as prisoners of war. Witness the steady refusal of the Government to allow the enrollment of colored soldiers to uphold the flag of the country in this its hour of darkness and peril. Witness the order that no more slaves be allowed within our lines, and the complete muddle which Secretary CAMERON has made of the whole subject in his reply to the questions of General BUTLER. These facts do not pass unnoticed by the rebels, and their effect is to cheer them, while they dishearten the real friends of the Government at the North.

How do we stand before the world? 'If your war is for freedom, I am with you with twenty thousand men,' says GARIBALDI. What answer have we made to it? What answer can we make to it, with our hands all stained with the negro's blood, bound over and over again, with solemn pledges, to protect men-stealers in their robbery of men of all the most sacred rights of humanity? We seem almost ready to fight any body and every body but our real enemies. Suppose GARIBALDI should come, and the slaves should strike for their freedom, would the Liberator of Italy be called upon to become the enslaver in America? How would GARIBALDI look hounding negroes into bondage to loyal masters, as has done Gen. BANKS! We cut a strange figure before the civilized world. We are quite ready to fight England or France, (if our newspapers and some of our Diplomats are to be believed,) and we are especially anxious to shoot a few negroes into obedience to loyal masters, while we strike with reluctance, in sorrow more than anger, our only real and most malignant foe. Him we hit with one hand, and help with the other.

Who can account for this strange feature in our Northern character as thus reflected in the conduct of the Government? The chief explanation which we can give, is found in the fact that, for long years the whole people have been demoralized by slavery and accustomed to regard slaveholders with a slavish awe akin to that felt by the slave for his master. We do not deal with them as with other enemies. This is one explanation, and the other is, that neither by our law, nor by our religion have we ever taught that the negro had any rights above those of a beast of burden, and our policy has been, and still is, to treat him as such. The master as an enemy is more respected than the slave as a friend.

Very evidently herein is the weakness of the war on our part, and the strength of the enemy on their part. Slavery is the bulwark of rebellion—the common bond that binds all slaveholding rebel hearts together. Cut that band, and the rebellion falls asunder. If the Government does this, it will succeed, and if it does not, it will not deserve success.

But how shall it do this? The answer is ready: Let it cease to recognize men as any thing else than persons in the slave States. Let it know nothing, as the Constitution knows nothing, of black or white, in or out of the Southern States; and let every Gen-

eral proclaim a welcome to all men, irrespective of color or condition, to come forward to save the Ship of State, proffering to all such, freedom and citizenship. Let it be known that the American flag is the flag of freedom to all who will rally under it and defend it with their blood. Let colored troops from the North be enlisted and permitted to share the danger and honor of upholding the Government. Such a course would revive the languishing spirit of the North, and sickly over with the pale cast of thought, the now proud and triumphant spirit of the armed slaveholding traitors of the South. It would lift the war into the dignity of a war for progress and civilization, and save it from the reproach of being merely a war for retaining under our rule a people who think they can govern themselves. It would bring not only GARIBALDI and his twenty thousand Italian braves to our side, but what is more important still, our own sense of right, and the sympathy of enlightened and humane men throughout the world.

CAST OFF THE MILL STONE.

We are determined that our readers shall have line upon line and precept upon precept. Ours is only one humble voice; but such as it is, we give it freely to our country, and to the cause of humanity. That honesty is the best policy, we all profess to believe, though our practice may often contradict the proverb. The present policy of our Government is evidently to put down the slaveholding rebellion, and at the same time protect and preserve slavery. This policy hangs like a mill-stone about the neck of our people. It carries disorder to the very sources of our national activities. Weakness, faint heartedness and inefficiency is the natural result. The mental and moral machinery of mankind cannot long withstand such disorder without serious damage. This policy offends reason, wounds the sensibilities, and shocks the moral sentiments of men. It forces upon us in consequent conclusions and painful contradictions, while the plain path of duty is obscured and thronged with multiplying difficulties. Let us look this slavery-preserving policy squarely in the face, and search it thoroughly.

Can the friends of that policy tell us why this should not be an abolition war? Is not abolition plainly forced upon the nation as a necessity of national existence? Are not the rebels determined to make the war on their part a war for the utter destruction of liberty and the complete mastery of slavery over every other right and interest in the land?—And is not an abolition war on our part the natural and logical answer to be made to the rebels? We all know it is. But it is said that for the Government to adopt the abolition policy, would involve the loss of the support of the Union men of the Border Slave States. Grant it, and what is such friendship worth? We are stronger without than with such friendship. It arms the enemy, while it disarms its friends. The fact is indisputable, that so long as slavery is respected and protected by our Government, the slaveholders can carry on the rebellion, and no longer.—Slavery is the stomach of the rebellion. The bread that feeds the rebel army, the cotton that clothes them, and the money that arms them and keeps them supplied with powder

and bullets, come from the slaves, who, if consulted as to the use which should be made of their hard earnings, would say, give it to the bottom of the sea rather than do with it this mischief. Strike here, cut off the connection between the fighting master and the working slave, and you at once put an end to this rebellion, because you destroy that which feeds, clothes and arms it. Shall this not be done, because we shall offend the Union men in the Border States?

But we have good reasons for believing that it would not offend them. The great mass of Union men in all those Border States are intelligently so. They are men who set a higher value upon the Union than upon slavery. In many instances, they recognize slavery as the thing of all others the most degrading to labor and oppressive towards them. They dare not say so now; but let the Government say the word, and even they would unite in sending the vile thing to its grave, and rejoice at the opportunity. Such of them as love slavery better than their country are not now, and have never been, friends of the Union. They belong to the detestable class who do the work of enemies in the garb of friendship, and it would be a real gain to get rid of them. Then look at slavery itself—what good thing has it done that it should be allowed to survive a rebellion of its own creation? Why should the nation pour out its blood and lavish its treasure by the million, consent to protect and preserve the guilty cause of all its troubles? The answer returned to these questions is, that the Constitution does not allow of the exercise of such power. As if this were a time to talk of constitutional power! When a man is well, it would be mayhem to cut off his arm. It would be unconstitutional to do so. But if the arm were shattered and mortifying, it would be quite unconstitutional and criminal not to cut it off. The case is precisely so with Governments. The grand object, end and aim of Government is the preservation of society, and from nothing worse than anarchy. When Governments, through the ordinary channels of civil law, are unable to secure this end, they are thrown back upon military law, and for the time may set aside the civil law precisely to the extent which it may be necessary to do so in order to accomplish the grand object for which Governments are instituted among men. The power, therefore, to abolish slavery is within the objects sought by the Constitution. But if every letter and syllable of the Constitution were a prohibition of abolition, yet if the life of the nation required it, we should be bound by the Constitution to abolish it, because there can be no interest superior to existence and preservation.

A very palpable evil involved in the policy of leaving slavery untouched, is that it holds out the idea that we are, in the end, to be treated to another compromise, and the old virus left to heal over, only to fester deeper, and break out more violently again some time not far distant, perhaps, to the utter destruction of the Government for which the people are now spilling their blood and spending their money. If we are to have a compromise and a settlement, why protract the war and prolong the bloodshed? Is it said that no compromise is contemplated? It may be so; but while slavery is admitted to have any

right to be protected by our army, it will be impossible not to recognize its right to be protected by Congress; and already we see a leading Republican journal in this State urging the acceptance of the CRITTENDEN Compromise, by which the system of slavery shall be established in all territory south of 36° 30 min. of north latitude. The way to put an end to any further sham compromises is to put an end to the hateful thing itself, which is the subject of them; and whatever the slave-driving rebels may say, the plain people of the country will accept the proposition of emancipation with the utmost satisfaction.

Another evil of the policy of protecting and preserving slavery, is that it deprives us of the important aid which might be rendered to the Government by the four million slaves. These people are repelled by our slaveholding policy. They have their hopes of deliverance from bondage destroyed. They hesitate now; but if our policy is pursued, they will not be compelled by JEFFERSON DAVIS to fight against us. They will do it from choice, and with a will—deeming it better

‘To endure those ills they have,
Than fly to others they know not of.’

If they must remain slaves, they would rather fight for than against the masters which we of the North mean to compel them to serve. Who can blame them? They are men, and like men governed by their interests. They are capable of love and hate. They can be friends, and they can be foes. The policy of our Government serves to make them our foes, when it should endeavor by all means to make them our friends and allies.

A third evil of this policy, is the chilling effect it exerts upon the moral sentiment of mankind. Vast is the power of the sympathy of the civilized world. DANIEL WEBSTER once said that it was more powerful than ‘lightning, whirlwind or earthquake.’—This vast and invisible power is now evidently not with us. On the briny wing of every eastern gale there comes a depressing chill to the North, while to the South it brings encouragement and hope. Our policy gives the rebels the advantage of seeming to be merely fighting for the right to govern themselves. We divest the war on our part of all those grand elements of progress and philanthropy that naturally win the hearts and command the reverence of all men, and allow it to assume the form of a meaningless display of brute force. The idea that people have a right to govern themselves, whether true or false, has a very strong hold upon the minds of men throughout the world. They naturally side with those who assert this right by force in any part of the world. The example of America has done much to impress this idea upon mankind, and the growing sympathy of the world seems now far more likely to bring some LAFAYETTE with an army of twenty thousand men to aid the rebels, than some GARIBALDI to aid the Government in suppressing the rebels. Our slaveholding, slave-catching and slave insurrection policy gives to the South the sympathy which would naturally and certainly flow towards us, and which would be mightier than lightning, whirlwind or earthquake in extinguishing the flames of this momentous slaveholding war.

Another evil arising from this mischievous slaveholding policy, is that it invites the in-

terference of other Governments with our blockade. Break up the blockade, and the war is ended, and the rebels are victorious, and the South is independent. It is already evident that France and England will not long endure a war whose only effect is to starve thousands of their people, slaughter thousands of our own, and sink millions of money. If they are to suffer with us, they will demand—and they have a perfect right to demand—that something shall be gained to the cause of humanity and civilization. Let the war be made an abolition war, and no statesman in England or France would dare even, if inclined, to propose any disturbance of the blockade. Make this an abolition war, and you at once unite the world against the rebels, and in favor of the Government.

SHALL SLAVERY SURVIVE THE WAR?

Slavery has existed in this country from the time of its settlement until now. The moral sentiment of the people has often revolted at it, and good men, during more than a century, have labored and prayed, with more or less earnestness, for its abolition; but the huge system of barbarism, the only great disturbing force in the social relations of the people, has thus far resisted successfully all efforts for its complete eradication. It has not only ruined the bodies and blighted the best hopes of the robbed and plundered slave, but it has cursed with blight and mildew the very soil of the best part of the United States. At last, for its sake, the slaveholders have plunged the nation into all the horrors of civil war, and have thus raised again, more eloquently than a thousand abolition tongues and presses could do, the question, Shall the days of slavery now be numbered, or shall it go on and feed ever more upon human flesh and blood, and be a constant source of disagreement and quarrel hereafter, as heretofore, between the two great sections of the Republic? One point is at least settled beyond all possible doubt, and that is, that but for slavery the country would have escaped both the Florida and the Mexican wars, with all their terrible consequences, and enjoying now all the manifold blessings of peace and prosperity. Those who refuse to see that slavery is an evil to the slave, nevertheless very easily see that it is the monster parent of nearly all the mischiefs we have suffered and are still suffering. Those who have been leading men in the Democratic, slaveholding party, ready to do any service of the slaveholders, are now very openly speaking about the abolition of slavery. They sometimes go still further, and declare that the system of slavery ought not to survive this war. They do not feel for the negro; but without this reason, would have the great National Nuisance abolished. They see that it is a curse upon free labor, degrades toil in every community where it is established, and is the pregnant source of nearly all our national troubles.

One other point is also settled. This it is: Slavery and free institutions can never live peaceably together. They are irreconcilable in the light of the laws of social affinities.—How can two walk together, except they be agreed. Water and oil will not mix. Ever more, stir them as you will, the water will go to its place, and the oil to its. There are elective affinities in the moral chemistry of the universe, as well as in the physical, and the

laws controlling them are unceasingly operative and irrevocable. If slavery and freedom have at any time been at peace, it has only been so when one was completely under the heel of the other. Legislation which springs naturally from the sentiments and ideas of non-slaveholders, can never be palatable to slaveholders who are, in the nature of their relation to society, a privileged class, and must have special protection. The submission and deference which the people see practiced toward them by their slaves, speedily defuses itself among the people, and they measurably imitate the behavior of the slaves. The slave pulls off his hat, the poor man touches his, and the slave-master is thus taught by common consent to regard himself as belonging to a privileged class. The lesson is learned naturally on both sides, and is the inevitable result of the relation. The slaveholder must be master of society, otherwise he cannot long be master of his slaves. There are times when slaves must be hunted, whipped and hanged, and they always need watching. All of this must be done by the non-slaveholding, or what is called ‘poor white trash,’ the common name for poor white people at the South. They must give up the thoughts, words and bearing of free men, or the dingy rafters of human bondage topples about their heads. Liberty of conscience, of speech, and of the press has no real life in a slave State, and can have none for any considerable length of time. It must either overthrow slavery, or be itself overthrown by slavery. ‘No man can serve two masters.’ No society can long uphold two systems radically different and point blankly opposed, like slavery and freedom.—The slaveholders know this and act accordingly. The very moment they lost all hope of controlling and directing the Government, they set themselves logically to the work of destroying the Government.

Such is the natural and necessary social philosophy of slavery. The truth of the representation is confirmed by every hour of the history of slavery in this country. Looking at this social relation of slavery in connection with the vast conspiracy which it has caused, and the heavy train of dire calamities it is carrying through the land, the people, statesman and citizen, men of every grade and position in life, if from no other motive than that of the preservation of their own liberty, should set themselves about putting down slavery and abolishing it forever. The thought of allowing the gigantic iniquity to survive the war should be utterly scouted. Retain cholera, small pox, yellow fever, or any other disease or epidemic among you, which only kill the body; but the moral blight, the soul plague and withering curse, which is now raining desolations upon the land, should now be scattered with all its guilty profits to the winds. To those who ask how this can be done, we answer—where there is a will, there is a way. The American people have only to have the will to find the way.

—Among the passengers of the *Persia*, which arrived recently at New York, was the Rev. Dr. Cheever, who has been absent in Great Britain since July, 1860. On his arrival he was received by a large number of his friends, who accompanied him to his residence. His efforts to enlighten the British public upon the causes of the present war, and the importance of maintaining the Union of these States, have been attended with great success.

FIGHTING REBELS WITH ONLY ONE HAND.

What upon earth is the matter with the American Government and people? Do they really covet the world's ridicule as well as their own social and political ruin? What are they thinking about, or don't they condescend to think at all? So, indeed, it would seem from their blindness in dealing with the tremendous issue now upon them. Was there ever any thing like it before? They are sorely pressed on every hand by a vast army of slaveholding rebels, flushed with success, and infuriated by the darkest inspirations of a deadly hate, bound to rule or ruin. Washington, the seat of Government, after ten thousand assurances to the contrary, is now positively in danger of falling before the rebel army. Maryland, a little while ago considered safe for the Union, is now admitted to be studded with the materials for insurrection, and which may flame forth at any moment.—Every resource of the nation, whether of men or money, whether of wisdom or strength, could be well employed to avert the impending ruin. Yet most evidently the demands of the hour are not comprehended by the Cabinet or the crowd. Our Presidents, Governors, Generals and Secretaries are calling, with almost frantic vehemence, for men.—'Men! men! send us men!' they scream, or the cause of the Union is gone, the life of a great nation is ruthlessly sacrificed, and the hopes of a great nation go out in darkness; and yet these very officers, representing the people and Government, steadily and persistently refuse to receive the very class of men which have a deeper interest in the defeat and humiliation of the rebels, than all others.—Men are wanted in Missouri—wanted in Western Virginia, to hold and defend what has been already gained; they are wanted in Texas, and all along the sea coast, and tho' the Government has at its command a class in the country deeply interested in suppressing the insurrection, it sternly refuses to summon from among that vast multitude a single man, and degrades and insults the whole class by refusing to allow any of their number to defend with their strong arms and brave hearts the national cause. What a spectacle of blind, unreasoning prejudice and pusillanimity is this! The national edifice is on fire. Every man who can carry a bucket of water, or remove a brick, is wanted; but those who have the care of the building, having a profound respect for the feeling of the national burglars who set the building on fire, are determined that the flames shall only be extinguished by Indoo-Caucasian hands, and to have the building burnt rather than save it by means of any other. Such is the pride, the stupid prejudice and folly that rules the hour.

Why does the Government reject the negro? Is he not a man? Can he not wield a sword, fire a gun, march and countermarch, and obey orders like any other? Is there the least reason to believe that a regiment of well-drilled negroes would deport themselves less soldier-like on the battle field than the raw troops gathered up generally from the towns and cities of the State of New York? We do believe that such soldiers, if allowed now to take up arms in defence of the Government, and made to feel that they are hereafter to be recognized as persons having

rights, would set the highest example of order and general good behavior to their fellow soldiers, and in every way add to the national power.

If persons so humble as we could be allowed to speak to the President of the United States, we should ask him if this dark and terrible hour of the nation's extremity is a time for consulting a mere vulgar and unnatural prejudice? We should ask him if national preservation and necessity were not better guides in this emergency than either the tastes of the rebels, or the pride and prejudices of the vulgar? We would tell him that General JACKSON in a slave State fought side by side with negroes at New Orleans, and like a true man, despising meanness, he bore testimony to their bravery at the close of the war. We would tell him that colored men in Rhode Island and Connecticut performed their full share in the war of the Revolution, and that men of the same color, such as the noble SHIELDS GREEN, NATHANIEL TURNER and DENMARK VESEY stand ready to peril every thing at the command of the Government. We would tell him that this is no time to fight with one hand, when both are needed; that this is no time to fight only with your white hand, and allow your black hand to remain tied.

Whatever may be the folly and absurdity of the North, the South at least is true and wise. The Southern papers no longer indulge in the vulgar expression, 'free niggers.' That class of bipeds are now called 'colored residents.' The Charleston papers say:

'The colored residents of this city can challenge comparison with their class, in any city or town, in loyalty or devotion to the cause of the South. Many of them individually, and without ostentation, have been contributing liberally, and on Wednesday evening, the 7th inst., a very large meeting was held by them, and a Committee appointed to provide for more efficient aid. The proceedings of the meeting will appear in results hereafter to be reported.'

It is now pretty well established, that there are at the present moment many colored men in the Confederate army doing duty not only as cooks, servants and laborers, but as real soldiers, having muskets on their shoulders, and bullets in their pockets, ready to shoot down loyal troops, and do all that soldiers may to destroy the Federal Government and build up that of the traitors and rebels. There were such soldiers at Manassas, and they are probably there still. There is a negro in the army as well as in the fence, and our Government is likely to find it out before the war comes to an end. That the negroes are numerous in the rebel army, and do for that army its heaviest work, is beyond question. They have been the chief laborers upon those temporary defences in which the rebels have been able to mow down our men. Negroes helped to build the batteries at Charleston. They relieve their gentlemanly and military masters from the stiffening drudgery of the camp, and devote them to the nimble and dexterous use of arms. Rising above vulgar prejudice, the slaveholding rebel accepts the aid of the black man as readily as that of any other. If a bad cause can do this, why should a good cause be less wisely conducted? We insist upon it, that one black regiment in such a war as this is, without being any more brave and orderly, would be worth to the Government more than two of any other; and that, while the Government continues to refuse the aid of colored men, thus alienating them from

the rational cause, and giving the rebels the advantage of them, it will not deserve better fortunes than it has thus far experienced.—Men in earnest don't fight with one hand, when they might fight with two, and a man drowning would not refuse to be saved even by a colored hand.

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET RE-VISITS ENGLAND.—Mr. GARNET has sailed for England, and is, doubtless, well on his way to that country. He leaves us at a critical period of our cause, for all our hopes for our race may now be blest or blasted upon the decision of a single battle. Much as we need him here to cheer and defend us from the assaults of our enemies, we know also that he can do much for us in Great Britain. The influence of that country is deemed of vast importance to both the regular American Government and to the slaveholding rebels. We know of no man from amongst us better able to speak, or with a better right to be heard before the British public on this subject than Mr. GARNET. His color, as well as his high character, will give him influence among the good people of that country, and enable him to battle successfully with the evident sympathy with the slaveholders which a class in that country are endeavoring to create. Mr. GARNET, although an Emigrationist, still claims this as his country, and means to return to it and spend and be spent in the service of his people in it. We most cordially commend our respected friend GARNET to the warmest regards and fullest confidence of our friends and readers, and wish him a useful and in every way successful tour through the British Isles. His presence and labors there cannot fail to react in our favor here; for in these days of rapid travel, a word spoken abroad soon finds its way home, and often comes with added power. We shall watch with deep interest the reception given our friend, and the success attending his labors.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.—We have received the September issue of this valuable magazine, and from a glance at its contents, (for we have not yet found time to read it,) we should judge that the present number is fully equal to its predecessors. The publishers (Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, Boston) say that, 'while they will spare no exertions to maintain the high literary position it has gained, they are sensible that in the presence of the great events now agitating the country and the world, something more than a merely literary character is demanded of a journal like the *Atlantic*. They will aim, therefore, to give to its future issues a political tone in keeping with its high literary standing, devoting much of its space to the discussion of important aspects of the great questions of the day, and giving to its pages additional freshness, variety, and importance, by the presentation, of the best thought, in Prose and Poetry, upon different phases of the nation's great struggle.' Terms, \$3 per annum, postage paid.

Mr. Higginson is the author of the Insurrection Papers we are now publishing, copied from the *Atlantic*.

—Among those lately appointed by the Government to foreign consulships, we observe the names of Thaddeus Hyatt and J. L. Lovejoy, brother of Hon. Owen Lovejoy. Both 'fanatics'—that is, they were both fanatics before the war drove every body to be so!

OUR ARMY STILL SLAVE-CATCHING.

When Congress passed Mr. LOVEJOY's excellent resolution, declaring it no part of the business of our army to catch and return runaway slaves to their masters, we fondly hoped that we should thereafter hear no more of such mean and scandalous transactions; but the fact is far otherwise. General BANKS of Massachusetts seems to have taken up the infamous business of slave-catching, just about where General BUTLER, of the same State, but of different politics, left it off. Every little while we have telegrams like the following, which reaches us this day, (August 22.) showing that the disgraceful business still goes on, and that whatever the people of the North mean by giving their lives and fortunes to this war, the Government means that no harm shall come to slavery:

'By order of the Secretary of War, a fugitive slave was yesterday arrested near Rockville, and surrendered to his owner. The slave was running about camp until he was pursued, when he ran into the country.'

It makes the faces of Northern men blush, and their blood boil, to see, at such a time as this is, the noble troops who have rushed forth to peril every thing they have under heaven to put down the slaveholding rebellion, employed in the loathsome and shocking business of hunting down negroes for no other crime than seeking their freedom. Even in time of peace, nobody pretends that the army has anything to do with this business of our Christian Republic, unless called upon to do so by judicial decision; but never until now has it been thought to be the duty of the army to seize any body pointed out as the slave of any other, and thus hand him over to the tender mercies of slavery. There is nothing either in the Constitution or in the custom of the country to justify this base and hateful business; and the continuance of it by our Secretary of War and the Generals acting under him, shows their heartlessness and their utter contempt for the resolution passed by Congress, and for the anti-slavery sentiment of the North.

This mode of reducing men to slavery is even worse than that of the Fugitive Slave Bill. That does propose a trial, or at least the mockery of a trial, but according to this military method, any scoundrel may pass through the Federal camp and point out a man, call him his property, pay for him the price of loyalty, when our Generals will put him in possession of his victim. He does not even, from all that appears, have to prove property, but only his loyalty. This does the work, and makes him the owner of the bones and muscles of his fellow-man. No doubt some care is taken to see that no free person, not a slave before, is thus consigned to slavery; but most clearly it is impossible in the circumstances to prevent this slave-claiming from reaching this enormity. The whole thing is conducted upon the presumption that every colored man is a slave, and every loyal slave claimant is an honest man. Both presumptions are entirely false.

There are in the State of Maryland ninety thousand free colored people, many of them freed for conscience sake by their owners.—The liberty of this class is seriously endangered by this military slave-catching. It is said that there is policy in war; but is there any wise policy in slave-catching? Never

did a Government need trust-worthy friends more than our's. Our army is in an enemy's country, open where they are not overpowered, and concealed where they are overawed by superior force. The slaves of the most loyal master is more loyal than he. They are the natural friends of the Government and of the army. How foolish, as well as wicked, is it then to alienate them from our army, by teaching them that we are not only not liberators, but are enslavers of men?

Then, too, many of the troops have been bred to the belief that slave-catching is a crime against human nature, and revolt at being made parties to such crimes. Above all, they know that this war in which they are sacrificing time, money and blood, is a war forced upon the country by slavery, and it must grate harshly upon every nerve to be called upon to assist in strengthening the horrid system in any way. The whole business is unwise, disgraceful, wicked and unconstitutional, and must benumb the national feeling unless discontinued at once. If there is any one thing more manifest in the Constitution than another, it is that the men who made it purposely refused to recognize in it the right of property in man. They made that Constitution for a free age, a free country, and a free people, and never intended that it should be used to hunt or hold slaves. There is no obligation whatever resting upon the army to deliver up any body, owing service or not, to any one claiming him as a slave, for the Constitution knows no man as a slave. But the fact is, as we have said elsewhere, our Government is still deluded with the idea of conquering by conciliation, and are for healing the wounds of the Union by new drafts upon the negro's blood.

PRIZE TRACT.—The Church Anti-Slavery Society has re-issued its offer of a prize of \$100 for an acceptable tract, which is not to exceed twenty-four pages, on the question—'How shall Christians and Christian Churches best absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery?' This prize was offered last year, but the number of competitors was few, and the efforts were not deemed worthy of popular circulation. The time is now extended to January 1, 1862. Manuscripts are to be sent to either of the following Committee on adjudication: The Rev. J. C. Webster, Hopkinton, Mass.; Deacon J. Washburn, Worcester, Mass.; the Rev. Samuel Souther, Worcester, Mass.

DONATIONS.—Rev. J. W. LOGUEN, of Syracuse, wishes us to acknowledge the following donations received by him for the benefit of fugitives:—From the Birmingham Negro's Friend Society, £5; from the Dalkeith L. A. S. Society, £5 10s.

We also beg leave to acknowledge the following:

Edinburgh A. S. Society.....	£5 0 0
Dalkeith " "	5 10 0
Sheffield " "	6 0 0
Bradford " "	2 10 0
Subscriptions.....	6 0 0

—The privateer schooner Petrel has been sunk by the frigate St. Lawrence. The pirates took the St. L. to be a merchantman, and fired several shots at her, when the frigate opened a broadside, which cut the Petrel completely in two, and she went down in a few minutes, with five of her guilty crew. The rest of the crew were picked out of the water, and brought in irons to Philadelphia.

OUR SOLDIERS AND 'CONTRABANDS'

AN INCIDENT IN THE MASSACHUSETTS SEVENTH.

The following incident in the experience of the Massachusetts Seventh Regiment as it passed through Baltimore, is related by a correspondent:—A fine looking colored man, about 22 years of age, liking the looks of the Massachusetts 7th as it passed, left his master, followed us to Washington, and into camp. His master came to the city, and tracing him to our camp, called upon Col. Couch to deliver him up. The Colonel told him that if the slave was willing to go, and the men would give him up, he would submit. The slave consented to see his master, and went with him outside the guard. Here the master tried to arrest him, knowing he was outside our camp; but the slave started back on the run, his master after him. The guard opened to the right and left, and let the slave pass, but as the owner came up, they charged bayonets. He raved and stormed, all to no purpose, and threatened if we ever came to Baltimore, to remember us. The guard replied they should like to go to Baltimore and clear up all the rebels, adding the regiment would do it in a few hours; and I believe they could, for a more determined company of men could not be found.

A SLAVE-CATCHER GETS BADLY POUNDED.

Some time ago, a fugitive slave from Missouri was arrested near Mound City by a man named Duvall, with whom he started for Cairo. When near there, he was set upon by a couple of colored sympathizers, his gun taken from him, and himself badly pounded, the three negroes then pushing off for the swamp. Duvall managed to get into town, where he now lies. The fugitives were pursued by a party of soldiers, who fired upon them, wounding two of the negroes. The slave was caught and brought to the Cairo jail, where he now is, 'subject to order.'

PRACTICAL JOKE OF A FIRE ZOUAVE.

The following incident is told of one of the Fire Zouaves:—An F. F. V., driven in his carriage by his 'servant,' rode up, when Zoo-zoo stepped into the road, holding his bayonet in such a way as to threaten horse, negro and white man at one charge, and roared out, 'tickets.' Mr. V. turned up his lip, set down his brows, and by other gestures indicated his contempt for such mud-sills as the soldier before him, ending by handing his pass over to the slave, and motioning him to get out and show it to Zoo-zoo. 'All right,' said the latter, glancing at it, 'move on'—accompanying the remark with a jerk at the coat collar of the colored man, which sent him spinning several paces down the road. 'Now, sir, what do you want?' addressing the astonished white man. White man had by this time recovered his tongue: 'Want! I want to go on, of course. That was my pass.' 'Can't help it,' replied Zoo; 'it says pass the bearer, and the bearer is already passed. You can't get two men through this picket on one man's pass.' Mr. V. reflected a moment, glanced at the bayonet in front of him, and then called out to his black man to come back. Sambo approached cautiously, but fell back in confusion when the musket was brandished towards his own breast. 'Where's your pass, sirrah?' asked Zoo-zoo. 'Here, massa,' said the chattel, presenting the same one he had received from his master in the carriage. 'Won't do,' replied the holder of the bayonet. 'That passes you to Fairfax; can't get any one from Fairfax on that ticket. Move on.' A stamp of the foot sent Sambo down the road at a hand gallop. 'Now, sir, if you stay here any longer, I shall take you under arrest to headquarters,' he continued. Mr. V. grabbed up his lines, wheeled around and went off at the best trot his horses could manage over the 'sacred soil.' Whether Sambo ever hunted his master up is not known.

—Walter Norris, son of the late ex-Senator Norris of New Hampshire, was killed at Bull Run. He was a member of the Beauregard Rifles, and for many years a clerk in the Post Office Department, and resigned his place to enter the rebel army.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

ROCHESTER, Aug. 1, 1861.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN: DEAR SIR:—The Northern people of this country are aroused as they never were aroused before. The feeling of the masses everywhere is intense. All parties and sects, all classes and distinctions are merged, and but one sentiment pervades the country. Men, money, and munitions of war are abundant, and only wait to be commanded. The people approve your course in the main, so far as you have gone—only regretting that you had not called into the field a force sufficient to have overwhelmed and crushed out the rebellion on the start. They now want to see the Executive rise to the true conception of the vast magnitude of the work before him, and of the nature and grandeur of the mission you are now called upon, in the Providence of God, to perform. They want to see the Government march a powerful army into the traitorous States, proclaim liberty to every slave, and wipe out the last vestige of that barbarous system from the land, and enlist every freed man capable of bearing arms under the banner of Liberty and Union, and if need be, sweep the Southern despots and traitors from the continent they have disgraced, and are now combining to ruin.

They have outraged every principle contained in our immortal Declaration of Independence. They have trampled upon the most sacred provisions of the Constitution, and set at defiance the supreme law of the land—They have broken up the comity and destroyed all reciprocity between the States.—They have outraged, and robbed, and murdered our peaceful citizens. They have perverted justice and liberty, and repudiated our republican form of government. They have violated both the spirit and express letter of the Constitution, which declares that 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,' and reduced four millions of human beings to chattel slavery against all law. They have required and secured the most humiliating subserviency on the part of the North to the Slave Power. They have exposed us to shame and disgrace, both at home and abroad. They have imposed heavy burdens upon us without mutual benefits. They have been overbearing and insolent to our representatives, brutally assaulting them when in the faithful and constitutional discharge of their duties, both in the private walks of life, and in the public halls of legislation. They have distorted the national charter of our liberties and perverted the power of the Government from its legitimate purpose of freedom, and prostituted it to the base and wicked ends of SLAVERY. They have depraved and poisoned the religion, the politics, and the judiciary of the country, and keep the whole land in a feverish state of strife and turmoil for many years, and at last, because they could no longer rule, they have determined to ruin, and have turned open and avowed rebels and pirates, and without any just provocation on our part, have commenced an unnatural and fratricidal war upon us, the demoralizing and desolating effects of which upon the vital interests and welfare of the country, it is impossible for the human mind to estimate. And now, is it possible our Government will suffer itself to be forced into such a horrid war—be compelled

to expend millions of treasure, and oceans of blood, and not wipe out the cause which has led to these outrages, and involved us in all these horrors? Our very existence as a nation is now threatened by the Slave Power, and the first great law of nature—self-preservation—demands the destruction of slavery. May God in His wisdom open the eyes of the Executive, and the nation, to see that there can be no successful prosecution or termination of war—no peace in this country until slavery is abolished—that the rebellion cannot be put down until slavery is put down; in other words, that *slavery is the rebellion*, and the rebellion *slavery*.

Had slavery been abolished at the South as it was at the North, and as it was expected it would be when this Government went into operation, the South would have grown up, as have the North, a free, enlightened and a prosperous people; and there would have been no disturbing element, no apple of discord, no cause for rebellion. And it is astonishing, that now, after the slaveholders have forced this terrible war upon us, turned open and avowed traitors and rebels, trampled the Constitution and the laws under their feet, set the Government at defiance, turned pirates and gone to privateering upon the sacred rights of legitimate property, that our Government and its officers should still have such a tender regard for the tyrants' assumed, but unjust and unconstitutional, claim of *property in human beings*. That the officers in our army should not know what to do with the poor panting fugitive when he flies for his God given rights to our Northern camps! Do with him? What has he to do with him, but to 'let him go; to let him dwell in the gates where it liketh him best, and not oppress him.' Again, the weakness and wickedness of the Government is seen still further on this subject, in the fact, that while the rebels are employing, rather forcing, the very slaves for whose oppressions the judgments of God are now being poured out upon the country, to *fight against the North*, the Administration actually refuses the aid and co operation of free, enlightened and respectable colored men, who offer their services and long to enlist in defence of the cause of Liberty and Union! And furthermore, our officers have gratuitously offered to crush out, with an 'iron hand,' any attempt on the part of the oppressed slaves, to rise and assert their liberty and join their Northern friends in support of the Government! Does the Government believe the Almighty has any attributes that can take sides with such injustice?

Oh! that in this hour of the Slave Power's extremity, our Government might see its providential opportunity—an opportunity which may never again occur—to obey the voice of God, and 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.' This is due alike to the oppressed millions in slavery, to the demoralized and barbarized slave States themselves, and to the whole country.

It is demanded alike by justice, humanity and religion, and by the advancing enlightenment and conscience of the civilized world. This alone will save our country from destruction, preserve its NATIONALITY, and secure for it permanent peace and enduring prosperity.

Yours, respectfully,

GEO. W. CLARK.

NO TERMS WITH TRAITORS.

THE SUBMISSION OF THE REBELS THE SOLE CONDITION OF PEACE.

To the N. Y. State Democratic Committee:—I make no apology for criticising Democrats, since I am myself a Democrat. Nay, almost can I say: 'If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in Democracy, I more.' For I have spent much of my life in inculcating it. Moreover, my Democracy is not a half-way but an extreme one—a Democracy as broad as mankind; and so jealous of Government as to allow its presence not only not in the Church, but not in the School—nowhere indeed save in the one legitimate Governmental office of protecting persons and property. That mine is the genuine Democracy is manifested by the little patience, which the current and spurious Democracy has with it. Nor need I make an apology for praising Republicans, since I have never been one of them. And I need not fear that any thing that I shall say of Democrats or Republicans will expose me to the charge of office-seeking, since I am one of the few who, at the expense of being called very eccentric and very foolish, sternly refuse to go in the ways which lead to office.

The proposition made to you a few days ago by the N. Y. State Republican Committee was both wise and magnanimous. It was wise in view of the wants of the country. It was magnanimous because coming from the stronger to the weaker party. I regret that it was declined. Its prompt and cordial acceptance would have strengthened the hands of the Government, and brightened the prospects of patriotism. But there is a reason given for declining it, which I much more than regret. It merits abhorrence and denunciation intense and universal. Republicans, ay all right-minded men, whether Republicans or Democrats, demand of the rebels immediate and unconditional submission. But you would have 'the Federal Government hold out terms of peace and accommodation to the disaffected States.' Is this the policy of most of the Democratic leaders in the different States?—and is their party to be rallied to espouse it? If so, then is there more reason than ever to fear the result of the war—of the war which is waged so earnestly by our foes, and with so little and so divided heart by ourselves. Gloomy indeed is the prospect if even this little heart is to be made less and the breach in this divided heart to be made wider by this threatened unpatriotic attitude of the Democratic party! Gloomy indeed the prospect if the great party, which comprises nearly half the men of the North, is to exhibit such a spectacle of meanness as in its espousal of this policy it will!—such a spectacle for our foe to feed his pride and strengthen his courage and build his hopes upon!

The North would be left without spirit to continue the war after a proposed 'accommodation' or compromise in her name. For what would the proposition imply but her admission that the rebels are at least partly right in their rebellion, and she at least partly wrong in resisting it?—what but her admission that our Government and nation are either so reduced in power as not to be able to suppress a rebellion, or so reduced in dignity and self respect as to be willing to bribe even rebels into forbearance? What, in a word, would the proposition imply but her admission that the Government and nation are not worth preserving? For to treat with armed rebels is manifestly to throw both away. There is not a respectable Monarchy on earth that would consent to do so. But far rather might it treat with armed traitors than we—who have an open ballot-box thro' which wrongs can be righted. Do you say that crimes may be committed by Government so enormous as to justify the wronged in passing by the tardy and uncertain remedy of the ballot-box to seize their arms? But if it is by such crimes that this Rebellion has been provoked, then it should not be put down; and you ought to be ashamed of your boast

that 'hundreds of thousands of your (our) brethren (Democratic brethren) have taken up arms' against it. This boast is your virtual admission that the rebels had suffered no wrongs which justified them in seeking any other than a peaceful redress. Never that I am aware had they suffered any wrong whatever at the hands of Government, always excepting the very great wrong of being allowed to have things their own way. Emphatically true is it that the South is our partial Government's spoiled child. And no less true is it that the North is now suffering the severe penalty of having permitted and encouraged the Government to spoil it.

A sword in one hand and a bribe in the other! We can never conquer in this wise. Possibly we might were our foe like ourselves. But neither of his hands bears messages of peace. Both are busy in dealing out death. And not only does he scorn to propose compromises, but as utterly and openly does he scorn to accept them. How exceedingly disingenuous in this light is your attempt, and is every other attempt to make an issue with the uncompromising enemies of the Rebellion by proposing compromises! You know perfectly well that there can be no compromises. Nevertheless you continue to urge them. I will not say with the purpose—though it certainly is with no other effect than to divide and destroy us.

What boots it that we are two or three times as numerous as the enemy, and have ten times his wealth, if we are divided and he united?—if whilst with him all speak one language there are with us numberless lips and presses that speak for him? Secession regiments allowed to march daily through Baltimore would not be as dangerous to our cause as are her Secession presses. And similar is the danger of such presses in New York. The regiments could be watched and controlled; but the demoralizing influence of the presses cannot be hindered from going over the whole land. These presses plead their constitutional rights! But just as sure as that the Southern conspirators, who have flung away the Constitution and armed themselves against it and the nation, have no constitutional rights, so sure is it that they, who remain among us and yet identify themselves with the conspirators, have no constitutional rights. There is not another nation on the earth, which would accord rights to persons in the circumstances of the conductors of these presses: and this nation must either cease from such spurious and suicidal liberality, or cease to live. The Constitution was not intended to afford protection to those who help on bloody war against itself and its loyal subjects. But what if there are Constitutional or other laws which seem to give shelter to such traitors? The necessities of war, among which there is scarcely one more urgent than the suppression of newspapers that are in the interest of the enemy, rise high above all wars. May the mob suppress them? No—but the War Power may. That power, which has right to break up a bridge when in its judgment the measure is called for, has right under the same condition to break up a press. But this you will say is to recognize in the War Power the boundlessness of despotic power. Admitted. And the nation which, in a war for its very existence, hesitates at such recognition, exhibits more of the harmlessness of child's play than of the terrible earnestness of war. What makes our comparatively small foe so effective?—It is that the South is so earnest and so wise as to leave her War Power untrammelled, and entirely free to use all the means of the South and to use them as it will. This wicked war would soon have been ended had our Government or, in other words, our War Power, felt the like liberty. Very different would have been the present condition of things if the Northern Government had felt the same liberty as the Southern to use black men.—Whilst the South is wholly and hotly determined to maintain Southern slavery and kill Northern liberty, the North is half-heartedly in the work of maintaining both. The news-

papers say that our Government has invited Garibaldi to take part in this impracticable and ridiculous work. It cannot be true. For though our Government may feel bound to pursue this wretched policy of going for liberty and slavery, it could never be guilty of insulting that grand Soldier of Freedom by inviting him to identify himself, his magnificent fortunes and his world-wide fame, with this wretched policy. Our Government will never invite Garibaldi to take part with it until it shall have risen to the purpose of conquering the enemy by whatever means. Not till then will he consent to take part with it.

By the way, is there not some danger that if the North shall continue her present unfriendly and contemptuous attitude towards the four and a half millions of Northern and Southern blacks, this attitude will, especially when combined with Southern professions and promises, have the effect to bring this mighty element into a sincere, and as appalling as sincere, identification with our foe?

Is it a wonder that every step of Jefferson Davis is confident and defiant, and that so many of Abraham Lincoln's are timid and hesitating? It is not. For whilst Jefferson Davis represents a people of one heart and one purpose, Abraham Lincoln is obliged to pause and calculate how far and how fast such men as you and the masses you influence will let him go. Unhappy man!—for whilst the other President is cheered and strengthened by the entire devotion to his cause of all around him, our President is under the constant and withering remembrance that it will depend upon his success in conciliating the enemy at home whether the country will be able to conquer its other and less dangerous enemy. Simpleton that I was for believing that the shots at Fort Sumter would turn all the Republicans, yes and all the Democrats into Americans, and thus make the war a very short one! Having never worn the chains nor experienced the debauchment of party, I was ignorant how hard it is to break the one or get cured of the other.

You profess to be in favor of 'the vigorous prosecution of the war.' Of course you do. For the people are; and to get influence with them you must make them believe that you are. But there is only one way for you to be what you profess to be at this point.—It is to help the Government carry on the war. But you point to 'the hundreds of thousands' of Democrats in the army to prove that you are helping the Government carry it on. In vain!—for this only proves that they are helping—not that you are. All honor to these 'hundreds of thousands!' and all dishonor to you! Deeply do you wrong them, insultingly do you degrade them by identifying yourselves with them. In this dark hour of our country are they, like you, against its Government? No, they are fighting for it. Or do they, like you, refuse to co-operate with Republicans for the salvation of the country? No—God bless them! they rise far above such meanness and wickedness, and stand shoulder to shoulder with Republicans. I cannot affirm that you will not succeed in bringing over the Democratic masses to your guilty ground. But I can affirm that you do not represent them now.

You do not fail to extol the Constitution. Of course not. Messrs. Breckinridge, May, Burnett, Vallandigham do not. For the politician not to extol it when his purpose is to gain something from Americans, would betray as great a lack of cunning as would the omission of the hypocrite to commend the Bible when he would gain something from Christians. But, gentlemen, I trust an indignant public will teach you that the present is not the proper time for turning men's minds from the Country to the Constitution—from their urgent duties amidst the appalling necessities of the one to their composed study of the requirements and their prolonged admiration of the merits of the other. It is but a poor sort of philanthropy, which distresses itself over the great value of the clothes that the drowning man is carrying with him to the bottom. Very unseasonable is the reading of

the 'Rules of the Hotel' to its inmates, when the hotel is on fire. But no more so than to remind Americans of the Rules of the Federal Constitution, when the rebels are at their throats.

I do not expose myself to the charge of making light of the Constitution by setting the country above it. For much more have I written, and much more have I spoken for it than has any other Democrat living or dead. And it is not for parts of the Constitution that I have written and spoken—but for every line and letter of it. And I have not dishonored the Constitution and its authors by admitting it to be necessary to go outside of it for proof of its meaning. But I have honored both by insisting that it is its own sufficient interpreter.

The cry of 'The Constitution! The Constitution!!' is at once the most hypocritical and mischievous of all the cries with which treason is filling the land. Our Government is earnestly and honestly intent on saving the nation: and it is for the life of the nation that our Government be confided in and sustained. Whoever then seeks to weaken its bonds is a traitor. But of the most wicked and effective form of treason are they guilty who, taking advantage of the popular idolatry of the Constitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the Government by charging it with disregard of the Constitution.

I hope, gentlemen, that you are not traitors. But if you are not, then are you greatly to be pitied for so strongly seeming to be what you are not. If you are not more concerned to conquer the Republican party than to conquer the rebels, then never did any men's attitude more belie their spirit. That your purpose is to inspire your party with the deepest distrust of the Government is too obvious for even you to deny. That your success in this world complete the ruin of your country you may not see. Nevertheless you would see it, were you not blinded by party zeal. I think you will not succeed. I think you will not be able to carry with you the county and town leaders of your party, much less the party itself. Strong as is the partisan spirit in your party, I think the spirit of patriotism in it is stronger. I believe you will not be able to rally an Opposition party at the North. As there is but one party at the South, so there will be but one at the North. All the South is for the Rebellion, and all the North will be against it. I believe that the Government will stand, and that you will fall. I believe that the Democratic as well as the Republican party will consent to postpone the prosecution of party purposes, and the gratification of party predilections, until the Rebellion shall be conquered, and the country shall be safe. That done, and I shall be as willing to see each party go its own way, as I shall be glad to see all the wrongs of the South (if there are any) abundantly redressed, when she shall have ceased from her Conspiracy and laid down her arms. But a curse on the party that raises its head before the war is ended. And not one word of peace, nor one leaf of the olive-branch, nor one concession however small to the rebels so long as they are rebels. Much as they are worth, and they are worth much because they are our fellow men, the Government and the nation are worth vastly more: and both Government and nation will perish if there shall be the slightest stooping to those who are in arms against both.

You would have it understood that the Republican party would consent to 'the separation of the States.' I confess that I preferred such separation, if peaceful, to war. But the Republican party has never proposed it.—There is not one Republican in one hundred who would consent to it. Moreover, there are ten Democrats who would, where there is one Republican who would.

I have not failed to notice that in your Call of the Convention you too put party below patriotism. But in vain is it that you do so. 'Actions speak louder than words.'—Never, after you declined the generous No-Party Proposition of the Republicans, has it

been in your power to profess yourselves to be above party and yet enjoy the reputation of being sincere. Your mistake was a great one. Cunning cannot correct it. The only remedy is your repentance.

GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, Aug. 13, 1861.

Nat Turner's Insurrection.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, for August, 1861.]

During the year 1831, up to the 23d of August, the Virginia newspapers were absorbed in the momentous problems which then occupied the minds of intelligent American citizens:—What General Jackson should do with the scolds, and what with the disreputables—Should South Carolina be allowed to nullify? and would the wives of Cabinet Ministers call on Mrs. Eaton? It is an unfailing opiate, to turn over the drowsy files of the *Richmond Enquirer*, until the moment when those dry and dusty pages are suddenly kindled into flame by the torch of Nat Turner. Then the terror flares on increasing, until the remotest Southern States are found shuddering at nightly rumors of insurrection—until far-off European colonies, Antigua, Martinique, Caraccas, Tortola, recognize by some secret sympathy the same epidemic alarms—until the very boldest words of freedom are reported as uttered in the Virginia House of Delegates with unclosed doors—until an obscure young man named Garrison is indicted at Common Law in North Carolina, and has a price set upon his head by the Legislature of Georgia. The insurrection revived in one agonizing reminiscence all the distresses of Gabriel's Revolt, thirty years before; and its memory endures still fresh, now that thirty added years have brought the more formidable presence of General Butler. It is by no means impossible that the very children or even confederates of Nat Turner may be included at this moment among the contraband articles of Fortress Monroe.

Near the south-eastern border of Virginia, in Southampton County, there is a neighborhood known as 'The Cross Keys.' It lies fifteen miles from Jerusalem, the county-town or 'court-house,' seventy miles from Norfolk, and about as far from Richmond. It is some ten or fifteen miles from Murfreesboro' in North Carolina, and about twenty-five from the Great Dismal Swamp. Up to Sunday, the 21st of August, 1831, there was nothing to distinguish it from any other rural, lethargic, slipshod Virginia neighborhood, with the due allotment of mansion-houses and log huts, tobacco-fields and 'old-fields,' horses, dogs, negroes, 'poor white folks,' so called, and other white folks, poor without being called so. One of these last was Joseph Travis, who had recently married the widow of one Putnam Moore, and had unfortunately wedded to himself her negroes also.

In the woods on the plantation of Joseph Travis, upon the Sunday just named, six slaves met at noon for what is called in the Northern States a picnic and in the Southern a barbecue. The bill of fare was to be simple: one brought a pig, and another some brandy, giving to the meeting an aspect so cheaply convivial that no one would have imagined it to be the final consummation of a conspiracy which had been for six months in preparation. In this plot four of the men had been already initiated—Henry, Hark or Hercules, Nelson, and Sam. Two others were novices—Will and Jack by name. The party had remained together from twelve to three o'clock, when a seventh man joined them, a short, stout, powerfully built person, of dark mulatto complexion and strongly-marked African features, but with a face full of expression and resolution. This was Nat Turner.

He was at this time nearly thirty-one years old, having been born on the 2d of October, 1800. He had belonged originally to Benjamin Turner—whence his last name, slaves having usually no patronymic—had then been transferred to Putnam Moore, and then to his present owner. He had, by his own account,

felt himself singled out from childhood for some great work; and he had some peculiar marks on his person, which, joined to his great mental precocity, were enough to occasion, among his youthful companions, a superstitious faith in his gifts and destiny. He had great mechanical ingenuity also, experimentalized very early in making paper, gunpowder, pottery, and in other arts which in later life he was found thoroughly to understand. His moral faculties were very strong, so that white witnesses admitted that he had never been known to swear an oath, to drink a drop of spirits, or to commit a theft. And in general, so marked were his early peculiarities, that people said 'he had too much sense to be raised, and if he was, he would never be of any use as a slave.' This impression of personal destiny grew with his growth; he fasted, prayed, preached, read the Bible, heard voices when he walked behind his plough, and communicated his revelations to the awe-struck slaves. They told him in return, that, 'if they had his sense, they would not serve any master in the world.'

The biographies of slaves can hardly be individualized; they belong to the class.—We know bare facts; it is only the general experience of human beings in like condition which can clothe them with life. The outlines are certain, the details are inferential.—Thus, for instance, we know that Nat Turner's young wife was a slave; we know that she belonged to a different master from himself; we know little more than this, but this is much. For this is equivalent to saying that by day or by night that husband had no more power to protect her than the man who lies bound upon a plundered vessel's deck has power to protect his wife on board the pirate schooner disappearing in the horizon; she may be revered, she may be outraged; it is in the powerlessness that the agony lies.—There is, indeed, one thing more which we do know of this young woman: the Virginia newspapers state that she was tortured under the lash, after her husband's execution, to make her produce his papers: this is all.

What his private experiences and special privileges or wrongs may have been, it is therefore now impossible to say. Travis was declared to be 'more humane and fatherly to his slaves than any man in the county;' but it is astonishing how often this phenomenon occurs in the contemporary annals of slave insurrections. The chairman of the county court also stated, in pronouncing sentence, that Nat Turner had spoken of his master as 'only too indulgent;' but this, for some reason, does not appear in his printed Confession, which only says, 'He was a kind master, and placed the greatest confidence in me.' It is very possible that it may have been so, but the printed accounts of Nat Turner's person look suspicious: he is described in Governor Floyd's proclamation as having a scar on one of his temples, also one on the back of his neck and a large knot on one of the bones of his right arm, produced by a blow; and although these were explained away in Virginia newspapers as being produced by fights with his companions, yet such affrays are entirely foreign to the admitted habits of the man.—It must, therefore, remain an open question, whether the scars and the knot were produced by black hands or by white.

Whatever Nat Turner's experiences of slavery might have been, it is certain that his plans were not suddenly adopted, but that he had brooded over them for years. To this day there are traditions among the Virginia slaves of the keen devices of 'Prophet Nat.' If he was caught with lime and lump-black in hand, conning over a half-finished country-map on the barn-door, he was always 'planning what to do, if he were blind,' or 'studying how to get to Mr. Francis's house.' When he had called a meeting of slaves, and some poor whites came eavesdropping, the poor whites at once became the subjects for discussion; he incidentally mentioned that the masters had been heard threatening to drive them away; one slave had been ordered to shoot Mr. Jones's pigs, another to tear down

Mr. Johnson's fences. The poor whites, Johnson and Jones, ran home to see to their homesteads, and were better friends than ever to Prophet Nat.

He never was a Baptist preacher, though such vocation has often been attributed to him. The impression arose from his having immersed himself, during one of his periods of special enthusiasm, together with a poor white man named Brantley. 'About this time,' he says in his Confession, 'I told these things to a white man, on whom it had a wonderful effect, and he ceased from his wickedness, and was attacked immediately with a cutaneous eruption, and the blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and after praying and fasting nine days he was healed. And the Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Savior had been baptized, so should we be also; and when the white people would not let us be baptized by the Church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptized by the Spirit.—After this I rejoiced greatly and gave thanks to God.'

The religious hallucinations narrated in his Confession seem to have been as genuine as the average of such things, and are very well expressed. It reads quite like Jacob Behmen. He saw white spirits and black spirits contending in the skies, the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled. 'And the Holy Ghost was with me, and said, "Behold me as I stand in the heavens!" And I looked and saw the forms of men in different attitudes. And there were lights in the sky, to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were; for they were the lights of the Savior's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary, for the redemption of sinners.' He saw drops of blood on the corn: this was Christ's blood, shed for man. He saw on the leaves in the woods letters and numbers and figures of men—the same symbols which he had seen in the skies. On May 12, 1828, the Holy Spirit appeared to him and proclaimed that the yoke of Jesus must fall on him, and he must fight against the Serpent when the sign appeared. Then came an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831: this was the sign; then he must arise and prepare himself, and slay his enemies with their own weapons; then also the seal was removed from his lips, and then he confided his plans to four associates.

When he came, therefore, to the barbecue on the appointed Sunday, and found, not these four only, but two others, his first question to the intruders was, How they came thither. To this, Will answered manfully, that his life was worth no more than the others, and 'his liberty was as dear to him.' This admitted him to confidence, and as Jack was known to be entirely under Hark's influence, the strangers were no bar to their discussion. Eleven hours they remained there, in anxious consultation: one can imagine those terrible dusky faces, beneath the funeral woods, and amid the flickering of pine-knot torches, preparing that stern revenge whose shuddering echoes should ring through the land so long. Two things were at last decided: to begin their work that night, and to begin it with a massacre so swift and irresistible as to create in a few days more terror than many battles, and so spare the need of future bloodshed. 'It was agreed that we should commence at home on that night, and, until we had armed and equipped ourselves and gained sufficient force, neither age nor sex was to be spared: which was invariably adhered to.'

John Brown invaded Virginia with nineteen men, and with the avowed resolution to take no life but in self-defence. Nat Turner attacked Virginia from within, with six men, and with the determination to spare no life until his power was established. John Brown intended to pass rapidly through Virginia, and then retreat to the mountains. Nat Turner intended to 'conquer Southampton County as the white men did in the Revolution, and then retreat, if necessary, to the Dismal

Swamp.' Each plan was deliberately matured; each was in its way practicable; but each was defeated by a single false step, as will soon appear.

We must pass over the details of horror, as they occurred during the next twenty-four hours. Swift and stealthy as Indians, the black men passed from house to house—not pausing, not hesitating, as their terrible work went on. In one thing they were humaner than Indians or than white men fighting against Indians—there was no gratuitous outrage beyond the death-blow itself, no insult, no mutilation; but in every house they entered, that blow fell on man, woman and child—nothing that had a white skin was spared. From every house they took arms and ammunition, and from a few, money; on every plantation they found recruits: those dusky slaves, so obsequious to their master the day before, so prompt to sing and dance before his Northern visitors, were all swift to transform themselves into fiends of retribution now; show them sword or musket and they grasped it, though it were an heirloom from Washington himself. The troop increased from house to house—first to fifteen, then to forty, then to sixty. Some were armed with muskets, some with axes, some with scythes; some came on their masters' horses. As the numbers increased, they could be divided, and the awful work was carried on more rapidly still. The plan then was for an advanced guard of horsemen to approach each house at a gallop, and surround it till the others came up. Meanwhile what agonies of terror must have taken place within, shared alike by innocent and by guilty! what memories of wrongs inflicted on those dusky creatures, by some—what innocent participation, by others, in the penance! The outbreak lasted for but forty-eight hours; but during that period fifty-five whites were slain, without the loss of a single slave.

One fear was needless, which to many a husband and father must have intensified the last struggle. These negroes had been systematically brutalized from childhood; they had been allowed no legalized or permanent marriage; they had beheld around them an habitual licentiousness, such as can scarcely exist except in a slave State; some of them had seen their wives and sisters habitually polluted by the husbands and the brothers of these fair white women who were now absolutely in their power. Yet I have looked through the Virginia newspapers of that time in vain for one charge of an indecent outrage on a woman against these triumphant and terrible slaves. Wherever they went, there went death, and that was all. Compare this with ordinary wars; compare it with the annals of the French Revolution. No one, perhaps, has yet painted the wrongs of the French populace so terribly as Dickens in his 'Tale of Two Cities'; yet what man, conversant with slave-biographies, can read that narrative without feeling it weak beside the provocations to which fugitive slaves testify? It is something for human nature that these desperate insurgents revenged such wrongs by death alone. Even that fearful penalty was to be inflicted until the object was won. It was admitted in the *Richmond Enquirer* of the time, that 'indiscriminate massacre was not their intention, after they obtained foothold, and was resorted to in the first instance to strike terror and alarm. Women and children would afterwards have been spared, and men also who ceased to resist.'

It is reported by some of the contemporary newspapers, that a portion of this abstinence was the result of deliberate consultation among the insurrectionists; that some of them were resolved on taking the white women for wives, but were overruled by Nat Turner.—If so, he is the only American slave-leader of whom we know certainly that he rose above the ordinary level of slave vengeance, and Mrs. Stowe's picture of Dred's purposes is then precisely typical of his. 'Whom the Lord saith unto us, "Smite," them will we smite. We will not torment them with the scourge and fire, nor defile their women as they have done with ours. But we will slay them

utterly, and consume them from off the face of the earth.'

When the number of adherents had increased to fifty or sixty, Nat Turner judged it time to strike at the county-seat, Jerusalem. Thither a few white fugitives had already fled, and couriers might thence be dispatched for aid to Richmond and Petersburg, unless promptly intercepted. Besides, he could there find, arms, ammunition, and money; though they had already obtained, it is dubiously reported, from eight hundred to one thousand dollars. On the way it was necessary to pass the plantation of Mr. Parker, three miles from Jerusalem. Some of the men wished to stop here and enlist some of their friends.—Nat Turner objected, as the delay might prove dangerous; he yielded at last, and it proved fatal.

He remained at the gate with six or eight men; thirty or forty went to the house, half a mile distant. They remained too long, and he went alone to hasten them. During his absence a party of eighteen white men came up suddenly, dispersing the small guard left at the gate; and when the main body of slaves emerged from the house, they encountered, for the first time, their armed masters. The blacks halted, the whites advanced cautiously within a hundred yards and fired a volley; on its being returned, they broke into disorder, and hurriedly retreated, leaving some wounded on the ground. The retreating whites were pursued, and were saved only by falling in with another band of fresh men from Jerusalem, with whose aid they turned upon the slaves, who in their turn fell into confusion. Turner, Hark, and about twenty men on horseback retreated in some order; the rest were scattered. The leader still planned to reach Jerusalem by a private way, thus evading pursuit; but at last decided to stop for the night, in the hope of enlisting additional recruits.

During the night the number increased again to forty, and they encamped on Major Ridley's plantation. An alarm took place during the darkness—whether real or imaginary does not appear—and the men became scattered again. Proceeding to make fresh enlistments with the daylight, they were resisted at Dr. Blunt's house, where his slaves, under his orders, fired upon them, and this, with a later attack from a party of white men near Captain Harris's, so broke up the whole force that they never reunited. The few who remained together agreed to separate for a few hours to see if anything could be done to revive the insurrection, and meet again that evening at their original rendezvous. But they never reached it.

Sadly came Nat Turner at nightfall into those gloomy woods where forty-eight hours before he had revealed the details of his terrible plot to his companions. At the outset all his plans had succeeded; everything was as he predicted: the slaves had come readily at his call, the masters had proved perfectly defenceless. Had he not been persuaded to pause at Parker's plantation, he would have been master before now of the arms and ammunition at Jerusalem; and with these to aid, and the Dismal Swamp for a refuge, he might have sustained himself indefinitely against his pursuers.

Now the blood was shed, the risk was incurred, his friends were killed or captured, and all for what? Lasting memories of terror, to be sure, for his oppressors; but on the other hand, hopeless failure for the insurrection, and certain death for him. What a watch he must have kept that night! To that excited imagination, which had always seen spirits in the sky and blood drops on the corn, and hieroglyphic marks on the dry leaves, how full the lonely forest must have been of signs and solemn warnings! Alone with the fox's bark, the rabbit's rustle, and the screech-owl's scream, the self-appointed prophet brooded over his despair. Once creeping to the edge of the wood, he saw men stealthily approach on horseback. He fancied them some of his companions; but before he dared to whisper their ominous

names, 'Hark' or 'Dred'—for the latter was the name, since famous, of one of his more recent recruits—he saw them to be white men, and shrank back stealthily beneath his covert.

There he waited two weary days and two melancholy nights—long enough to satisfy himself that no one would rejoin him, and that the insurrection had hopelessly failed.—The determined, desperate spirits who had shared his plans were scattered forever, and longer delay would be destruction for him also. He found a spot which he judged safe, dug a hole under a pile of fence-rails in a field, and lay there for six weeks, only leaving it for a few moments at midnight to obtain water from a neighboring spring. Food he had previously provided, without discovery, from a house near by.

Meanwhile an unbounded variety of rumors went flying through the State. The express which first reached the Governor announced that the militia were retreating before the slaves. An express to Petersburg further fixed the number of militia at three hundred, and of blacks at eight hundred, and invented a convenient shower of rain to explain the dampened ardor of the whites. Later reports described the slaves as making three desperate attempts to cross the bridge over the Nottoway between Cross Keys and Jerusalem, and stated that the leader had been shot in the attempt. Other accounts put the number of negroes at three hundred, all well mounted and armed, with two or three white men as leaders. Their intention was supposed to be to reach the Dismal Swamp, and they must be hemmed in from that side.

Indeed, the most formidable weapon in the hands of slave-insurgents is always this blind panic they create, and the wild exaggerations which follow. The worst being possible, every one takes the worst for granted. Undoubtedly a dozen armed men could have stifled this insurrection, even after it had commenced operations; but it is the fatal weakness of a slaveholding community, that it can never furnish men promptly for such a purpose.—'My first intention was,' said one of the most intelligent newspaper narrators of the affair, 'to have attacked them with thirty or forty men; but those who had families here were strongly opposed to it.'

As usual, each man was pinioned to his own hearth-stone. As usual, aid had to be summoned from a distance, and, as usual, the United States troops were the chief reliance. Colonel House, commanding at Fortress Monroe, sent at once three companies of artillery under Lieut. Col. Worth, and embarked them on board the steamer Hampton or Suffolk. These were joined by detachments from the United States ships Warren and Natchez, the whole amounting to nearly eight hundred men. Two volunteer companies went from Richmond, four from Petersburg, one from Norfolk, one from Portsmouth, and several from North Carolina. The militia of Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne Counties, and the United States troops at Old Point Comfort, were ordered to scour the Dismal Swamp, where it was believed that two or three thousand fugitives were preparing to join the insurgents. It was even proposed to send two companies from New York and one from New London to the same point.

When these various forces reached Southampton County, they found all labor paralyzed and whole plantations abandoned. A letter from Jerusalem, dated August 24th, says, 'The oldest inhabitant of our county has never experienced such a distressing time as we have had since Sunday night last. . . . Every house, room and corner in this place is full of women and children, driven from home, who had to take the woods until they could get to this place.' 'For many miles around their track,' says another, 'the country is deserted by women and children.' Still another writes, 'Jerusalem is full of women, most of them from the other side of the river—about two hundred at Vix's.' Then follow descriptions of the sufferings of these persons, many of whom had lain night after night

in the woods. But the immediate danger was at an end, the short-lived insurrection was finished, and now the work of vengeance was to begin. In the frank phrase of a North Carolina correspondent — 'The massacre of the whites was over, and the white people had commenced the destruction of the negroes, which was continued after our men got there, from time to time, as they could fall in with them, all day yesterday.' A post script adds, that 'passengers by the Fayetteville stage say, that, by the latest accounts, one hundred and twenty negroes had been killed'—this being little more than one day's work.

These murders were defended as Nat Turner defended his: a fearful blow must be struck. In shuddering at the horrors of the insurrection, we have forgotten the far greater horrors of its suppression.

The newspapers of the day contain many indignant protests against the cruelties which took place. 'It is with pain,' says a correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 7, 1831, 'that we speak of another feature of the Southampton Rebellion; for we have been most unwilling to have our sympathies for the sufferers diminished or affected by their misconduct. We allude to the slaughter of many blacks without trial and under circumstances of great barbarity. . . . We met with an individual of intelligence who told us that he himself had killed between ten and fifteen. . . . We [the Richmond troop] witnessed with surprise the sanguinary temper of the population, who evinced a strong disposition to inflict immediate death on every prisoner.'

There is a remarkable official document from General Eppes, the officer in command, to be found in the *Richmond Enquirer* for September 6, 1831. It is an indignant denunciation of precisely these outrages; and though he refuses to give details, he supplies their place by epithets: 'revolting'—'inhuman and not to be justified'—'acts of barbarity and cruelty'—'acts of atrocity'—'this course of proceeding dignifies the rebel and the assassin with the sanctity of martyrdom.' And he ends by threatening martial law upon all future transgressors. Such general orders are not issued except in rather extreme cases.—And in the parallel columns of the newspaper the innocent editor prints equally indignant descriptions of Russian atrocities in Lithuania, where the Poles were engaged in active insurrection, amid profuse sympathy from Virginia. The truth is, it was a Reign of Terror. Volunteer patrols rode in all directions, visiting plantations. 'It was with the greatest difficulty,' said General Brodnax before the House of Delegates, 'and at the hazard of personal popularity and esteem, that the coolest and most judicious among us could exert an influence sufficient to restrain an indiscriminate slaughter of the blacks who were suspected.' A letter from the Rev. G. W. Powell declares, 'There are thousands of troops searching in every direction, and many negroes are killed every day: the exact number will never be ascertained.' Petition after petition was subsequently presented to the legislature, asking compensation for slaves thus assassinated without trial.

Men were tortured to death, burned, maimed, and subjected to nameless atrocities. The overseers were called on to point out any slaves whom they distrusted, and if any tried to escape, they were shot down. Nay, worse than this. 'A party of horsemen started from Richmond with the intention of killing every colored person they saw in Southampton County. They stopped opposite the cabin of a free colored man, who was hoeing in his little field. They called out, "Is this Southampton County?" He replied, "Yes, Sir, you have just crossed the line, by yonder tree." They shot him dead and rode on.'—This is from the narrative of the editor of the *Richmond Whig*, who was then on duty in the militia, and protested manfully against these outrages. 'Some of these scenes,' he adds, 'are hardly inferior in barbarity to the atrocities of the insurgents.'

These were the masters' stories. If even these conceded so much, it would be interesting to hear what the slaves had to report. I am indebted to my honored friend, Lydia Maria Child, for some vivid recollections of this terrible period, as noted down from the lips of an old colored woman, once well known in New York, Charity Bowery. 'At the time of the old Prophet Nat,' she said, 'the colored folks was afraid to pray loud; for the whites threatened to punish 'em dreadfully, if the least noise was heard. The patrols was low, drunken whites, and in Nat's time, if they heard any of the colored folks praying or singing a hymn, they would fall upon 'em and abuse 'em, and sometimes kill 'em, afore master or missis could get to 'em. The brightest and best was killed in Nat's time. The whites always suspect such ones. They killed a great many at a place called Duplon. They killed Antonio, a slave of Mr. J. Stanley, whom they shot; then they pointed their guns at him, and told him to confess about the insurrection. He told 'em he didn't know any thing about any insurrection. They shot several balls through him, quartered him, and put his head on a pole at the fork of the road leading to the court.' (This is no exaggeration, if the Virginia newspapers may be taken as evidence.) 'It was there but a short time. He had no trial.' They never do. In Nat's time, the patrols would tie up the free colored people, flog 'em, and try to make 'em lie against one another, and often kill them before anybody could interfere. Mr. Jas. Cole, High Sheriff, said, that if any of the patrols came on his plantation, he would lose his life in defence of his people. One day he heard a patroller boasting how many niggers he had killed. Mr. Cole said, "If you don't pack up as quick as God Almighty will let you, and get out of this town, and never be seen in it again, I'll put you where dogs won't bark at you." He went off, and wasn't seen in them parts again.'

These outrages were not limited to the colored population; but other instances occurred which strikingly remind one of more recent times. An Englishman, named Robinson, was engaged in selling books at Petersburg. An alarm being given, one night, that five hundred blacks were marching towards the town, he stood guard, with others, on the bridge.—After the panic had a little subsided, he happened to remark, that 'the blacks, as men, were entitled to their freedom, and ought to be emancipated.' This led to great excitement, and he was warned to leave town. He took passage in the stage, but the stage was intercepted. He then fled to a friend's house; the house was broken open, and he was dragged forth. The civil authorities being applied to, refused to interfere. The mob stripped him, gave him a great number of lashes, and sent him on foot, naked, under a hot sun, to Richmond, whence he with difficulty found a passage to New York.

Of the capture or escape of most of that small band who met with Nat Turner in the woods upon the Travis plantation, little can now be known. All appear among the list of convicted, except Henry and Will. Gen. Moore, who occasionally figures as second in command, in the newspaper narratives of that day, was probably the Hark or Hercules before mentioned; as no other of the confederates had belonged to Mrs. Travis, or would have been likely to bear her previous name of Moore. As usual, the newspapers state that most, if not all the slaves, were 'the property of kind and indulgent masters'—Whether in any case they were also the sons of those masters is a point ignored; but from the fact that three out of the seven were at first reported as being white men by several different witnesses—the whole number being correctly given, and the statement therefore probably authentic—one must suppose that there was an admixture of patrician blood in some of these conspirators.

The subordinate insurgents sought safety as they could. A free colored man, named Will Artist, shot himself in the woods where his hat was found on a stake and his pistol

lying by him; another was found drowned; others were traced to the Dismal Swamp; others returned to their homes, and tried to conceal their share in the insurrection, assuring their masters that they had been forced, against their will, to join—the usual defence in such cases. The number shot down at random must, by all accounts, have amounted to many hundreds, but it is past all human registration now. The number who had a formal trial, such as it was, is officially stated at fifty-five; of these, seventeen were convicted and hanged, twelve convicted and transported, twenty acquitted, and four free colored men sent on for further trial and finally acquitted. 'Not one of those known to be concerned escaped.' Of those executed, one only was a woman—'Lucy, slave of John T. Barrow'—that is all her epitaph, shorter even than that of Wordsworth's more famous Lucy; but whether this one was old or young, pure or wicked, lovely or repulsive, octoroon, or negro, a Cassy, an Emily, or a Topsy, no information appears; she was a woman, she was a slave, and she died.

[CONCLUDED NEXT MONTH]

A RIGHT KIND OF COLONEL.—Our readers will remember the gallant Capt. MONTGOMERY who attained so wide a reputation in connection with the Kansas troubles. He is now Colonel of one of the Kansas regiments, and we understand that JOHN BROWN, Jr., is Captain of a company under him. While at Leavenworth the other day, he was called upon by a number of citizens, and at their request the Colonel was induced to make a speech to a large crowd in front of the hotel. We give a synopsis of what he said:

He began with a history of the Kansas difficulties, the part he had played therein, and vindicated the course of himself and those who had acted with him; referred to the outrages they had suffered, and their method of retaliation. Horses and other property had been taken from pro-slavery men, and given as a recompense to men who had suffered from pro-slavery depredations. He stated that one man had been hung by his followers, for pursuing slaves on Kansas soil, and they would not permit slave-catching in their neighborhood.

The Colonel next referred to the war and to slavery, and intimated pretty strongly that the one ought to do away with the other.—He discussed the question of the abolition of slavery, and replied to many of the arguments used against it. He was not in favor of colonizing the negroes in Africa; the expense would be too enormous and too burdensome to the people. Central America, or the West Indies, should be set apart for the black race, and as they flourished best in warm climates, they would naturally emigrate to those countries and settle there. He denounced the idea that volunteers should be used to catch runaway slaves, and was opposed to whipping volunteers. The only kind of punishment he would introduce into that branch of the service, would be drumming out of camp, or death by shooting. He closed by saying that the war would be a short one; that the Administration could end it if they would, and he had no doubt of their desire to do so. He expected by next Spring to be back on his farm in season to plow his land and sow his crops. By that time the Government would either have whipped the traitors or they would have whipped the Government, and so, in any event, the war would have an end.

—The Rebel Congress at Richmond has passed a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into and report on the expediency of prescribing by law, while the facts are fresh and susceptible of proof, some uniform mode of taking, authenticating and preserving the evidence of the abduction or reception, by the enemy, of slaves owned by any of the Confederate States, as also of the age, sex and value of said slaves, to the end that indemnity may hereafter be exacted from the enemy.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE WAR.

We take the following extract from the able and eloquent speech delivered by WENDELL PHILLIPS at Abington, Mass., on the 1st of August. His remarks were quite lengthy, and we have space only for the peroration, which is very nearly a summary of the points he had elaborated:

Let the Government of the United States say, through its Lieut. General Scott, or thro' its Secretary of War, to the various Generals of divisions: 'What we shall do in the future with slavery, we know not; the future will shape itself; but every man, black or white, that enters your lines, hang him or arm him.' When they have said it, there is no longer slavery in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The moment they have said it, ours is an army advancing into a country where one-half of the population is on our side, men, women and children. That is one-half the victory. The moment we have said it, the South knows the vigor of the North has touched the point of efficiency. I ask that of the Government, leaving Congress to shape its future.

Then I ask this further, they shall clear all the public offices of secession spies. I said just now, and I hold it, that the battle of Bull Run was butchery, and the Government were largely responsible for it, while they keep the public offices full of men with Southern principles. There is sitting at this moment—mark you! Charlestown still exists, with its sky almost yet bearing the shadow of that gibbet whereon hung a man for breaking his allegiance to the Government of the United States—there is sitting at this moment, within one hundred miles of it, in the city of Washington, a Committee of the House of Representatives, to find out the number of men in the public offices who have refused to take the oath of allegiance. 'The number!' Why, there ought not to be one there. Instead of a Committee to find out the number of traitors, that House of Representatives should have memorialized the President to remove any Secretary who had in his employ one man who had refused to take the oath of allegiance. [Loud applause.] If I were brother, or son, or father of any man murdered at Bull Run, I should think that the Secretary who kept traitors in his employment, run the risk of every life that left Washington in that army. If you and I had marched out of that Capital, knowing that by the criminal weakness of the Government, we left behind us in public offices, with peculiar facilities, therefore, for gaining knowledge of public plans, hosts of men who often avowed their wish for our defeat, we should hardly feel that such a Government deserved our blood shed in its defence.

I believe, therefore, that the Government should announce what I said in regard to the blacks: Every man that enters the lines, arm him or punish him. And in regard to the public offices, empty Washington of every man, woman and child who will not take the oath of allegiance—every one probably disloyal. [Cheers.] Until that is done, this war is a bloody farce. The Government is not fighting; they are only playing with bloody counters—with the lives of 200,000 men—Maps just finished in Washington found in the tents of the rebels! The plan of the campaign known to be in possession of the staff of the opposite army! Out of such a nest no army should be sent. We have a right to ask this of the Government. War is horrible. No Government, no mere form is worth a single human life. If we enter it, we enter it for the gravest and most solemn of all purposes; and after that, every step should be taken to make it as efficient as possible. You and I are to create that efficiency. You and I are to save years of bloody war. I would not take one step, nor refrain from it, out of regard to England or France. [Applause.] In one sense, I do not care for their sympathy. If nineteen millions of men are not able to hold their Government up, may it tumble down. [Loud applause.] If we need Eng-

land and France to decree government and justice on this continent, we had better be under a King. [Applause, and cries of 'Hear, hear!'] I would not, therefore, take a step, nor forbear it, out of any regard to England. With a fair purpose and proper exercise of will, we are able to decide this question.—Gen. Scott might have burned over Virginia months ago, and left no woods to conceal the masked batteries of Manassas. Why did he let his hundred thousand men linger in Washington? Better there than to be sent out to be butchered. Such was not Wellington's conduct when for months he created an army behind ramparts in Portugal. Occasional employment helped formal drill, while it kept up the spirit of the soldier. But what we may rightfully ask of this Government is to put on its banner something worth fighting for, and then to put behind it an army not already betrayed by its own servants.

I know that this may seem like disloyal criticisms of the Administration, but this matter is your concern and mine as much as the Administration's. We are to be beggared, our neighbors are to be shot, our national honor is at stake. Whoever seals his lips, I shall not seal mine. [Prolonged applause.] I believe that Gen. Scott is honest; I know that he is able. I have no criticisms to make of the secrets or details of military science. But every man who has his eyes open, knows that war is a serious and earnest game. The South spares nothing. She goes back to the days of barbarism for her methods. She is in deadly earnest, and we are at play. We pardon traitors at home; we almost smile on them on the other side; and in Washington they are spoken of as 'our friends at the South,' and exchange of courtesies take place. If we have a war worthy of the blood of New England men, it is to be an earnest war, and it is to be made now, if the great purpose of the war is to be saved from the complications which another Spring, and the difficulties and embarrassments which another six months cannot fail to bring. If you have any influence, therefore, on members of Congress, on editors, on the creators of public opinion, on your neighbors, on the rank and file of your army, teach them that with Massachusetts bayonets it is better to be insubordinate and shoot a Colonel, than it is, unasked, unauthorized, and Heaven damned, to turn themselves into hunters of slaves. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] Help the Government to dare to give free rein to the ardor of the people. The sight of the Stars and Stripes bowing to the Palmetto at Charleston, that flight at Bull Run, will rankle in the history of the Republic for centuries. The only opiate for this ache of the Nation's heart is the Government bidding the world take note of the cause of this fell disease, avowing her purpose with mortal surgery to cut it out, and then, gathering four millions of the oppressed under her flag, plant it, in serene strength, amid shouts of jubilee, on the shores of the Gulf. [Loud applause.]

The New York Times prints the entire speech of Mr. PHILLIPS, and editorially comments as follows:

There are thousands and tens of thousands throughout the country, who sympathize thoroughly with this view of the subject, and who insist that the Government ought immediately to raise the standard of liberation. It seems to us quite sufficient to say that we cannot possibly do this, without contradicting the facts of current history, and discarding the Constitution, which it is the object of the war to vindicate and defend. This war has thus far nothing historically to do with slavery. Its object is simply to defend the Government of the Union from the destruction with which it is threatened. President Lincoln, moreover, speaking the voice of the whole country, has over and over again declared that the Government has no intention to interfere with slavery, or with any of the institutions, laws or rights of the several States. So long as the Government proceeds upon the theory that secession is a nullity, and that the seceded States are still *de jure* and *de facto* members

of the Union, it must continue, in acts as in words, to hold this ground.

But while we consider this to be of necessity the position of the Government for the present, we do not mean to intimate that it may not be changed. War is a terrible stimulant to the development of national passions, and it often works in days or weeks, changes in the current of events which, under ordinary circumstances, it would take years to bring about. A repetition of such defeats as that at Bull Run—a succession of disasters of any sort to the National arms, might convince the people that *we have mistaken the issue*—that we are fighting the battle on a false basis—that it is not, in reality, a defensive war for the mere salvation of a written Constitution, but that it has its roots deeper down in the social and civil life of the nation, and that it must be waged with a broader view, a loftier purpose, and a more terrible energy than have yet entered into its conduct. When our people once see—as we hope they may not—that we cannot protect ourselves behind the ramparts of the Constitution—that we must go forth and fight to the death against the monster that really assails us, or else crouch in abject and perpetual subservience to his will, there can be little doubt of the choice they will make.

The Times is considered one of the most conservative of the leading Northern journals. In another issue of that paper we find the following, which shows plainly that it is coming to the conclusion that the only way to put a stop to this uncalled for rebellion, is for the President to proclaim freedom to every slave in the land. It says:

The most natural way to put an end to a controversy, is to remove the cause of it, and since the war has resulted from the refusal of the slavery propagandists to submit to the laws, the obvious and certain cure for the political malady is the abolition of slavery. The Government will be slow in adopting this radical mode of treatment, but the public mind is rapidly coming to the conclusion that no other will prove effectual. If undertaken at all, it should be done with a strong hand.

Slavery is a doomed institution. Its upholders and propagandists have waged unholy war upon the General Government, for no other reason than that they have been turned out of power, by the result of a fair election, and now they must take the consequences of their crimes.

WHY WAS JOHN BROWN HUNG?—We have looked over the trial again, and we find that John Brown was hung because he was in arms against the United States—because the Courts and the Government pronounced him a traitor.

The whole North was denounced for the act of Brown and his squad of twenty men. The Senate investigated it. Prominent Republicans from Massachusetts to Kansas were hauled up before the patriot, Senator Mason, and an attempt was made to implicate them in the treason. Men of decided anti-slavery principles were publicly mobbed and privately jeered at as aiders and abettors of treason.—These things happened a short time ago. The Government called out its soldiers to capture John Brown; they guarded the Court House during the trial; they protected the execution field on the day of the hanging. For what was John Brown hung? For treason.

Gen. McClellan has recently captured a thousand prisoners, ten of whom are officers. Government has ordered him to release them on their taking the oath. Why was not John Brown allowed to take the oath?

Suppose Massachusetts had seceded instead of South Carolina, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips had been the leaders of the rebellion. Everybody knows that nothing would have been said about taking the oath in such a case. The captured Abolitionists would have been hung instantaneously.

Moral—Fighting for slavery is justifiable; fighting for freedom is treason.—*Atchison Conservative.*

THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.

GENERAL BUTLER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

"HEADQUARTERS DEP'T OF VIRGINIA,
FORTRESS MONROE, July, 30, 1861.

"HON. SIMON CAMERON, SECRETARY OF WAR, Sir: By an order received on the morning of the 26th July from Major General Dix, by a telegraphic order from Lieutenant General Scott, I was commanded to forward of the troops of this department, four regiments and a half, including Col. Baker's California Regiment, to Washington via Baltimore.— This order reached me at 2 o'clock A. M., by special boat from Baltimore. Believing that it emanated because of some pressing exigency for the defence of Washington, I issued my orders before daybreak for the embarkation of the troops, sending those who were among the very best regiments I had. In the course of the following day they were all embarked for Baltimore, with the exception of some 400 for whom I had not transportation, although I had all the transport force in the hands of the Quartermaster here, to aid the Bay line of steamers, which, by the same order from the Lieutenant General, was directed to find transportation. Up to, and at the time of the order, I had been preparing for an advance movement by which I hoped to cripple the resources of the enemy at Yorktown, and especially by seizing a large quantity of negroes who were being pressed into their service in building the entrenchments there. I had five days previous been enabled to mount for the first time, the first company of Light Artillery, which I had been empowered to raise, and they had but a single rifled cannon, an iron six-pounder. Of course everything must and did yield to the supposed exigency of the orders. This ordering away the troops from this department, while it weakened the post at Newport News, necessitated the withdrawal of the troops from Hampton, where I was then throwing up entrenched works to enable me to hold the town with a small force, while I advanced up the York or James river. In the village of Hampton there were a large number of negroes, composed in a great measure of women and children of the men who had fled thither within my lines for protection, who had escaped from marauding parties of Rebels who had been gathering up able bodied blacks to aid them in constructing their batteries on the James and York rivers. I had employed the men in Hampton in throwing up entrenchments, and they were working zealously and efficiently at that duty, saving our soldiers from that labor under the gleam of the mid-day sun.— The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers, and rations were being served out to the men who worked for the support of the children. But by the evacuation of Hampton, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of troops, leaving me scarcely 5,000 men outside of the Fort, including the force at Newport News, all these black people were obliged to break up their homes in Hampton, fleeing across the creek within my lines for protection and support.— Indeed it was a most distressing sight, to see these poor creatures, who had trusted to the protection of the arms of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States in their enterprise, to be thus obliged to flee from their homes; and the homes of their masters who had deserted them, and become not fugitives from fear of the return of the Rebel soldiery, who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women who had served us, to a worse than Egyptian bondage. I have therefore now within the Peninsula, this side of Hampton Creek, 900 negroes, 300 of whom are able-bodied men, 30 of whom are men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of ten years, and 170 between 10 and 18 years, and many more coming in. The questions which this state of facts present are very embarrassing.

"First—What shall be done with them? and Second, What is their state and condition?"

"Upon these questions I desire the instructions of the Department.

"The first question, however, may perhaps be answered by considering the last. Are these men, women, and children slaves?—Are they free? Is their condition that of men, women, and children, or of property, or

is it a mixed relation? What their *status* was under the Constitution and laws we all know. What has been the effect of rebellion and a state of war upon that *status*? When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negro fit to work in the trenches, as property liable to be used in aid of rebellion, and so contraband of war, that condition of things was in so far met as I then and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis.— But now a new series of questions arise.— Passing by women, the children certainly cannot be treated on that basis; if property, they must be considered the incumbrance, rather than the auxiliary of an army, and, of course, in no possible legal relation, could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so, they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned, like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean. Their former possessors and owners, have causelessly, traitorously, rebelliously, and to carry out the figure practically abandoned them to be swallowed up by the winter storm of starvation. If property do they not become the property of the salvors? but we, their salvors, do not need and will not hold such property and will assume no such ownership; has not, therefore, all property relation ceased? Have they not become thereupon men, women, and children? No longer under ownership of any kind, the fearful relics of fugitive masters, have they not by their master's acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the normal one, of those made in God's image. Is not every constitutional, legal, and moral requirement, as well to the runaway master as their relinquished slaves, thus answered? I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. If not free born, yet free, manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them never to be reclaimed.

"Of course if this reasoning thus imperfectly set forth is correct, my duty as a humane man is very plain. I should take the same care of these men, women and children, homeless, homeless, and unprovided for, as I would of the same number of men, women, and children, who for their attachment to the Union had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States. I should have no doubt on this question, had I not seen it stated, that an order had been issued by General McDowell in his department, substantially forbidding all fugitive slaves from coming within his lines, or being harbored there. Is that order to be enforced in all Military Departments? If so, who are to be considered fugitive slaves? Is a slave to be considered fugitive, whose master runs away and leaves him? Is it forbidden to the troops to aid or harbor within their lines the negro children who are found therein, or is the soldier, when his march has destroyed their means of subsistence, to allow them to starve because he has driven off the Rebel master. Now shall the commander of regiment or battalion sit in judgment upon the question, whether any given black man has fled from his master, or his master fled from him? Indeed, how are the free born to be distinguished? Is one any more or less a fugitive slave because he has labored upon the Rebel entrenchments? If he has so labored, if I understand it, he is to be harbored. By the reception of which, are the Rebels most to be distressed, by taking those who have wrought all their Rebel masters desired, masked their battery, or those who have refused to labor and left the battery unmasked.

"I have very decided opinions upon the subject of this order. It does not become me to criticise it, and I write in no spirit of criticism, but simply to explain the full difficulties that surround the enforcing it. If the enforcement of that order becomes the policy of the government, I, as a soldier, shall be bound to enforce it steadfastly, if not cheerfully. But if left to my own discretion, as you may have gathered from my reasoning, I should take a widely different course from that which it indicates.

"In a loyal State I would put down a servile insurrection. In a state of rebellion I would confiscate that which was used to oppose my arms, and take all that property, which constituted the wealth of that State and furnished the means by which the war is prosecuted, beside being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing, it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free en-

joyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, such objection might not require much consideration.

"Pardon me for addressing the Secretary of War directly upon this question, as it involves some political considerations as well as propriety of military action.

"I am Sir, your obedient servant,
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER."

SECRETARY CAMERON'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, August, 1861.

GENERAL:—The important question of the proper disposition to be made of fugitives from service in the States in insurrection against the Federal Government, to which you have again directed my attention, in your letter of July 30, has received my most attentive consideration. It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States be fully respected and maintained.— The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union; for the preservation of all Constitutional rights of States and the citizens of States in the Union. Hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings must be respected by military and civil authorities alike for the enforcement of legal forms. But in the States wholly or in part under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted, that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious that the rights dependent upon the execution of those laws must temporarily fail; and it is equally obvious that the rights dependent on the laws of the State within which military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of parties claiming them. To this the general rule of right to services forms an exception. The Act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be forfeited, and such persons shall be discharged therefrom. It follows, of necessity, that no claim can be recognized by the military authority of the Union, for the services of such persons, when fugitives.

A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State under which only the service of such fugitives can be claimed must needs be wholly, or almost wholly suspended. As to the remedies by the insurrection, and the military measures necessitated by it, it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures for the enforcement of such claims, must be attended by great inconvenience, embarrassments and injuries.

Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of local masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and such occupation as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the name and description of the fugitives; the name and character, as loyal or disloyal, of the master; and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case, after tranquility shall have been restored.— Upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for a just compensation for loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government and the just rights of all be fully reconciled and harmonized.

You will, therefore, consider yourself instructed to govern your future action in respect to fugitives from service by the premises herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises to this Department. You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command with the servants of

peaceful citizens in a house or field, nor will you in any way encourage such servants to leave the lawful service of their masters.—Nor will you, except in cases where the public good may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

To Maj. Gen. Butler, Commanding Department of Virginia, at Fortress Monroe.

THE WAR, WASHINGTON, AND THE BLACK WARRIORS.

We find the following communication in the New York Tribune, written by the Rev. H. T. CHEEVER, of Jewett City, Conn.:

SIR:—The pertinent question of your correspondent, 'M. T. V.,' on Saturday, why, while the South are employing slaves and Indian sharpshooters in their savage warfare for slavery against the North, we may not enlist the sympathy and aid of our free colored population on the side of freedom, is eminently suggestive. Is it right, he asks, to set aside the services of so many stout and brave fellows, because God has tinged their skin with a shade darker than ours?

In the Revolutionary War, who does not remember with what power it was argued, on the floor of the British Parliament, that it was right to use all the agencies 'which God and nature had put in our power.' And, in an age eminent for its humanity, it was no derogation to British philanthropy to employ the services of Indian allies and refugees from slavery.

The use to which Washington himself wisely put the trusty colored men, of whom there were not a few in the armies of the Revolution, is well illustrated in fact which I have from a Doctor of Divinity in New London, and which has never yet, I believe, in this shape, been put in print. There was an important point at one of the beleaguered fortresses from which the sentinels had been taken off night after night. At length Washington himself set a trusty colored man on guard, with the charge to be vigilant, and to hail every moving thing with the challenge, 'Who goes there?' three times, and then instantly to fire, or his own life would probably pay the forfeit.

The shrewd son of Africa seriously took his post, with steady hand and watchful eye, and energy roused to its utmost tension, pacing to and fro his solitary beat till the still hour after midnight. Meanwhile, revolving the danger, he settled in his mind the course to be taken to save his own life, to discover the enemy, and to render a service to Washington and his country, while he should keep within the exact letter of his instructions as a sentinel to challenge, 'Who goes there?' three times. Suddenly his quick ear detected a rustle in the darkness before him, and presently his sharp eye discovered dimly something creeping on the ground. Instantly leveling his musket he called out lustily, 'Who goes there tree time?' and let fly, without the interval of a second. It was enough. The Indian scout was shot just as his finger was put upon his own trigger to make away with the faithful sentinel before he should have time to repeat the challenge, and the post was saved.

It were needless to say how generously Washington rewarded this dusky representative of a docile race, in regard to which it has been left for our day to make the grand discovery and flaunt it to the world from our highest judicial tribune, through our hoary-headed Chief Justice, that the black man has no rights which white men are bound to respect.

Now, who does not ask what should prevent our beleaguered nation, in the hour of its peril, from availing itself in this wicked pro-slavery war, of the invaluable services of thousands of such men as this, like the late black hero Tillman of the schooner Waring? Men, shrewd, wakeful, enduring, fertile in re-

sources, strong of will, brave in heart, bristling with brawn—men, panting to serve their country, and to strike effectively at slavery at one and the same time—men, who, if cordially invited and enrolled under our starry standard, and led into the South, would make the most effective arm of the public service which we can possibly command.

Your correspondent, 'M. T. V.,' is at a loss to express his wonder that some good people of the North are found declaring that slavery has nothing to do with this war, and that it is simply a question of Government or no Government; and he very naturally exclaims, 'Slavery nothing to do with it! Perhaps a just God will ere long teach our people that slavery has all to do with it.' How much better that we should be taught it now, and that we should practically act upon it before it is too late!

A very vigorous writer in the *Anti Slavery Standard* forcibly remarks: 'That at length the United States will be forced to strike at the rebellion by annihilating the cause of the rebellion, we firmly believe. But it will make the greatest difference in the future of the country whether this is done at first or at last—whether it is done deliberately in our strength and vigor or desperately in our ruin and defeat. In the first case we shall present the spectacle of a nation long bound to sin by deeds of others which it feared to repudiate; but when at length a release was given, which every despotism in Europe must acknowledge, springing at once to health and liberty. In the other case, we should resemble some grey-haired reveller, so wedded to vice that he cannot abandon it, although it has ceased to be profitable or attractive, but who waits for utter physical inability before he can sham a virtue which is the contempt and hissing of men.'

Oh! that we knew to-day of our visitation and were wise to see and to seize the providential juncture which the Supreme Ruler of nations has offered us, to proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. May God of His mercy grant that our nation shall not be left—by failing to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God at the critical moment—to become a hissing and a by-word to other people and to other ages, like the stiff-necked Jews! Let the gentle Cowper read to us their fate and our own likewise, if we will have righteousness:

'Peel'd, scattered and exterminated thus,
The last of nations now, though once the first;
They warn and teach the proudest, would they learn—
Keep justice or meet judgment in your turn.'

A CANADIAN OPINION.—The *Toronto Globe* closes an article on the late defeat of the Federal army at Bull Run in the following words:

'We should have thought the stern lesson given at Bull Run would have convinced Mr. Lincoln that this rebellion is not to be suppressed by appealing in any way whatever to the reason of the men in arms against the Government. The fact that the Washington Cabinet hesitates to take decisive measures for the manumission of the slaves, is to them a confession of weakness. They cannot see it in any other light. They cannot understand how an enemy with whom they are waging a most deadly war, should hesitate about employing the most efficient means to crush them. Whether they will or not, despite the efforts of politicians, and despite the much lauded Constitution too, the war is resolving itself surely into a contest for the suppression of slavery. To that complexion it must come. And the sooner the fact is recognized, the sooner will an end be put to the deplorable contest now being waged.'

—The delivery of fugitive slaves by army officers is being discussed, and a petition has been in circulation in Lynn, Mass., addressed to Hon. J. B. Alley, asking the removal of Col. Cowdin for delivering a fugitive to his master.

LET US HEAR NO MORE OF SENDING BACK THE SLAVE.

Stand up in the Capitol, and proclaim
To wondering nations the fearful game
Which the soldiers play for us, North and South,
At the bayonet's point and the cannon's mouth—
Count up the stakes, and reckon the chances,
Say as each bristling column advances,
'So we contend against Slavery,
Lying and cheating and knavery'—
And then send back the slave.

North, East, and West have poured out their
treasures—
Doubled their tithes, and heaped up their
measures—
Called to the strong men, 'Now arm for the
fight,
Crush the proud traitor, and strike for the
Right!'—
Into the ranks slip young men and bold men,
Into the ranks step wise men and old men—
And the mothers kiss and caress them,
And the maidens cheer them and bless them
And you send back the slave.

'Forward!' they march at the President's call
Through Baltimore's streets to the Capitol.
'Forward!' where foes are entrenched in their
might.
(Now God be with them and favor the Right!)
And they see the hard battle before them,
And they think of the mothers who bore them,
And the maidens' cheers and flatteries—
March up to the murderous batteries—
While you send back the slave.

Weary and thirsty, they strike for the Right—
New men, but true men, they gallantly fight,
Bravely resisting, they stand by their flags
Till their gay colors are torn into rags.
They are falling, the young men and bold men,
They are falling, the wise men and old men—
And the cannon-balls leaps and whistles,
And cuts down the shamrocks and thistles—
And you send back the slave.

Ay, weep for the soldiers who lie there dead,
And weep for the soldiers who turned and fled.
Send to the Northland, and gather a host,
Fill up the places of those you have lost.
Cry to the nations, 'Come now and aid us
Crush out the wrong for which you upbraid us.'
Then call upon God for assistance
For strength in your holy resistance—
And then send back the slave.

My countrymen, can you not understand
'Tis a 'holy war' which the Lord hath planned;
That Justice and Vengeance shall make you
strong
When you throw in the scales the pond'rous
wrong?
They have hated you, scorned you, scouted you,
And now from the field they have routed you,
While you with clinging humility
Kiss their soft hands in servility—
And you send back the slave.

[Independent.

IMPRESSMENT OF FREE NEGROES.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* learns from free colored men arrived in that city from Nashville, Tenn., that the whites in that city have commenced the impressment of black men into the army.—Gov. Harris authorized the recruiting officers to bring to their aid the police and jailors, and seize any they wanted, and lodge them in jail until they were ready to take them to the camp. Many were taken in the midst of their business and huddled into jail, without allowing them any chance to arrange their business, and sent off to the camp next day. As many as could, made their escape from the city, into Kentucky, and eight or ten have reached Cincinnati.

THE CONFISCATION BILL.—The confiscation bill passed by Congress provides that whenever the owner of a slave employs him in the rebel service—whether in working upon entrenchments, or in carrying arms—the 'chat-tel' shall be forfeited. This agrees with Gen. Butler's idea that a slave employed in the rebel service is properly a 'contraband' article.

—Private letters from Gen. Fremont speak of the great assistance which his wife, 'Jessie,' is rendering him in this most serious contest.—She acts as his private secretary, writing many of his most important business letters, and taking notes of his conversation with officers on matters of moment.

THE NEGROES AT FORTRESS MONROE.

A correspondent of the *Tribune*, writing from Fortress Monroe, August 7th, says :

Every day adds to the number of negroes who seek protection within our lines. It is impossible to give an idea of the satisfaction, the sense of security, which the sight of the fortress affords to this unhappy class of beings. Once under its guns, they begin a new life, and are doubtless animated with hopes never before cherished, and to which they would otherwise have been strangers forever. Little is said to them about their changed situation, or of the prospects before them ;—what their own idea is I do not know, any further than that they comprehend that a great event has happened, which, if it has not given them their freedom and permitted them to go wherever and whenever they please, has at least placed them beyond the reach of the danger from which they have fled, of being separated forcibly from friends and relatives and sold for service in the Cotton States. I do not think that many of them canvass the probabilities of ever going North, of setting up for themselves, of owning property and being their own owners and masters. At present they only realize that they are among friends, who have no such purposes. The measure of contentment which such a realization affords is quite sufficient, and is probably fully equal to their capacity. They go to work with entire willingness, and I believe that all are agreed that as laborers they are not excelled. They are faithful, cheerful, and even zealous. Every morning they are taken out in 'details,' with overseers, always marching in regular order, under the direction and leadership of one of their number. They imitate the manners and discipline of the soldiers with great quickness, and evince much aptness in learning whatever they are set to do. A gang has for some time been engaged in building the railroad, and I am told by the engineer that he could not desire better hands. Rations are regularly issued to them, the same as to soldiers, and clothing is furnished as it is needed. Most of them have tents inside the fortress, but the women who have not situations in the families of officers, or elsewhere, are quartered in buildings on the outside, with the children and those that are incapable of labor. Many of them do washing, and some carry on a brisk business in selling pies, cakes, and other things to the soldiers. There is a building outside of the fortress where a large number are quartered, and where, every evening before tattoo, they sit and sing, to the education of all the neighborhood. The scene is original and attractive. The singing is always characteristic, and generally of a devotional kind, the tunes being plaintive, and frequently imitations of well-known airs. When, as is frequently the case, a hundred, and sometimes more, voices join in swelling the chorus, we have an unabridged idea of negro melody, uncorrupted by art or other skill than what is nature to the negro. Occasionally a tune is started in which all the parts are well sustained by male and female voices, and sometimes it happens that there are specimens of rude melody which the most celebrated Minstrels in Broadway might strive in vain to equal. At a later hour, when the gathering has broken up, the lights are put out, and the night is comparatively still, the voice of prayer, loud and earnest, interspersed with fervent responses, may be heard within ; and thus the 'contraband'—for they are known by no other name—introduced into a new existence, prove their usefulness, their capacity for rational enjoyments, and live, indeed, almost revel, I may say, in the new hope of better days for themselves and their race.

Some half dozen negroes—men, women and children—came into camp at Newport News last night, having come across the Roads, a distance of six miles, in open boats of the frailest sort, bringing with them beds and a limited, yet to them ill-sufficient, wealth of household effects. It was a bold venture that bordered on heroism, a push for little

less than life itself. This morning they came by steamer, and their names now figure conspicuously in the catalogue which Sergeant Smith keeps of such as know that

'Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.'

The number seeking refuge within our lines, now on the increase, would be even greater but for the report that has been spread among the negro population that they are not wanted, and will not be received. This story has doubtless been set afloat to keep negroes from running away, but it does not in all cases serve the purpose. The other day a delegation of two came to the fortress to ascertain the truth of the statement. Finding that it was a falsehood, and that protection and the means of living would be given to all comers, with the only requirement in return that those who could should work for it, and that would be free and equally certain to such as could not, they returned to convey the tidings. They will probably return before many days with a numerous train.

The *World* correspondent relates the following :

As to 'contrabands,' every house and hovel this side the river, not used for our forces, is crammed and jammed with them. Many of them possess a *natural* intelligence, industry and enterprise that is not acknowledged in the usual estimates of the class. I last evening conversed with a negro, a brawny, stalwart fellow, about thirty-five or forty years of age, who is a blacksmith by trade, and was worth, in his own name, before the commencement of the war, the snug little fortune of about \$15,000. He includes in this valuation himself, wife and five children, whom he has purchased by his own exertions. He had the titles to them, as well as the deeds of his estate, in his possession, while I was walking with him. He can neither read nor write, and employs a white man, at a very fair salary, in the capacity of book keeper. He has been obliged to leave Hampton, (which has since been entirely burned by the rebels,) and his property with the rest.

SEPARATION OR EMANCIPATION.—The Hon. AMASA WALKER, writing to the *New York Independent*, says :

The truth of the matter is, that the only alternatives left us are either a complete separation of the free and slave States, or the destruction of slavery itself. It is the most idle matter in the world to talk of any other course. We must choose one of the two, and the sooner we begin to contemplate this fact, and consider all its bearings and consequences, the better. Politicians are not ready to take the responsibility of discussing this question, but the people must ; and unless we greatly mistake the signs of the times, they are beginning to do it, pretty generally, since the battle at Bull Run. Public sentiment is changing almost as rapidly since that great disaster, as it did after the fall of Fort Sumter. There is less noise made on the subject, but the current is strong and deep, and is setting powerfully, if we mistake not, toward one of these alternatives. Never was a more momentous question submitted to a people.—Emancipation or separation ? How tremendous the consequences of either ! How vast the interests involved ! If emancipation, what a mighty change in the relations of master and slaves, and what a revolution in the social condition of the slave States ! If separation, what a complete change will be made in American politics ! Two separate independent nationalities, in juxtaposition, with totally antagonistic institutions ! Despotism and freedom both permanently organized on the Western continent, to be as matter of certainty in unceasing conflict !

But the time has now come when, however unwilling, we must look both these alternatives in the face. We are losing time, and are demoralizing the free States, by our delay in making up fully and clearly our issue, either for separation or emancipation.

AN IMPORTANT ADMISSION.

The following article is copied from a recent number of the *Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser*, showing what an immense service the slaves are to the rebels :

It is understood that the Secretary of War of the Confederate States has, or will, recommend to Congress the passage of a law, before its adjournment, to increase the effective force of the army by the addition of three hundred regiments. These, with the number already in the field, would make the entire strength of the Confederate army between five and six hundred thousand—a force amply sufficient to beat back any army which can be mustered at the North. The Congress of the North has called for five hundred thousand men to engage in the task of subjugating the South, and the Confederate Government must of course take measures to repel them. The requisitions already made on the States are probably sufficient for present purposes. They are enough to meet all the troops which our enemies have yet organized to operate against us, but they will soon commence under the new law to organize their grand army of half a million of men, and it will not do for them to find us unprepared.—The Government fully appreciates the necessities of the case, and we presume Congress will do everything in its power to increase the efficiency of the army, and make the adoption of a vigorous war policy both feasible and desirable. It is probable that Congress will pass some law authorizing the President to call out any number of troops not exceeding three hundred additional regiments, at any time when he may deem their services necessary. It is hardly probable that the whole number will be required at any one time, but they can be enrolled, officered and drilled, ready at the call of the President to take the field in defence of the country. A portion may be ordered into active service, another portion placed in camps of instruction, and still another portion left at home to drill until called for. In this way the greater part of the people of the South, capable of bearing arms, may become acquainted with military discipline, and fitted, whenever the opportunity occurs, to take the field for the defence of their homes, their firesides and their country's independence.

The total white population of the eleven States now comprising the Confederacy, is between five and six millions, and therefore to fill up the ranks of the proposed army, about ten per cent. of the entire white population will be required. In any other country than our own such a draft could not be met ; but the Southern States can furnish that number of men and still not leave the material interests of the country in a suffering condition. Those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and the negroes can go on undisturbed in their usual labors. In the North the case is different—the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence.

The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force so much larger in proportion to her white population than the North, or indeed than any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly in the present crisis, and our enemies will be likely to find that the "moral cancer," about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective weapons employed against them by the South. Whatever number of men may be needed for this war we are confident our people stand ready to furnish. We are all enlisted for the war, and there must be no holding back until the independence of the South is fully acknowledged.

—The Concord (N. H.) Democratic Standard and the Bangor Democrat, two secession papers, have been mobbed, and their contents thrown into the streets. The Grand Jury of New York have presented the *Day Book*, *News*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Freeman's Journal* and the *Brooklyn Eagle*, for publishing treasonable sentiments, and recommend that they meet with condign punishment.

BLACK HEROISM.

ANOTHER VESSEL SAVED BY A COLORED MAN.

The gunboat Albatross, Captain Prentiss, came into Hampton Roads the other day, with the Enchantress and her prize crew, recaptured after she had been taken by the privateer Jeff Davis. The following account of her last cruise may not be uninteresting:

The Albatross, after leaving her first prize with Commodore Stringham, proceeded to sea again on the 18th of July, and on the following day arrived off Oregon Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, where she saw a rebel steamer towing a schooner. The Albatross immediately gave chase, but the steamer, being of light draft, was able to get out of the way, under cover of a large battery commanding the Inlet, and took her position behind a sand-bank. The Albatross opened fire on her, which she returned, but her shots fell short, with one exception, which just cleared the smoke stack of the Albatross. She was hit on the port bow, but the Albatross received no injury. After she was hit, the rebel steamer took a safe position further off, where was another steamer that took no part in the engagement. Finding it unsafe to attempt pursuit or a landing, the Albatross made for Cape Hatteras, speaking and boarding several craft on the way. She found the shore strongly fortified with batteries. She soon fell in with the Enchantress, captured by the privateer Jeff Davis, six days out from Boston to St. Jago, and in possession of a prize crew of five rebels and a negro belonging to the schooner before she was taken. On speaking her and demanding where from and whence bound, she replied Boston for St. Jago. At this moment the negro rushed from the galley where the pirates had secreted him, and jumped into the sea, exclaiming, 'they are a privateer-crew from the Jeff Davis, and bound for Charleston!' The negro was picked up and taken on board the Albatross. The prize was ordered to heave to, which she did. Lieut. Neville jumped aboard of her, and ordered the pirates into the boats, and to pull for the Albatross, where they were secured in irons. The Enchantress was then taken in tow by the Albatross, and arrived in Hampton Roads on the 22d.

It seems that the Enchantress, when about one hundred and fifty miles south of Nantucket Shoals, came in sight of what was supposed to be a French brig, with French colors. From his appearance, Captain Devereaux of the E. supposed he was bound to New York. As he came along very near to make inquiries, Capt. D. chalked on his quarter what he supposed this Frenchman wanted to ascertain—viz: the longitude. When near enough to throw a biscuit on board, up jumped some one hundred men—the 'long-tom' was uncovered—ports were opened—and down came the French flag, and up went the Confederate! The E., being unarmed had to submit. The E. was a clipper, and the fastest sailer in the States; and with the least suspicion on the part of the Captain, could easily have sailed the piratical craft out of sight.

This colored man has since been handsomely rewarded for his bravery.

A FREE MAN SOLD INTO SLAVERY—HE ESCAPES WITH A SLAVE GIRL.

Walter Eugene Murray, a colored sailor of the Star of the West, the steamer that was surrendered to the rebels by its traitor officer, has arrived at New York, and tells the following story of his adventures:

'I left New York on the 12th of March, on the steamship Star of the West, bound for Brazos, a port in Texas. Arrived there after a passage of fifteen days; sailed from there on the 25th for Indianola, arrived on the 26th, laid off in the stream seven miles for three weeks. On the fourth week, Capt. Howes left the ship for Powder Horn. He returned to the ship on the following evening, and brought word that the Federal troops would be on board the next evening at 12 o'clock; but instead of that, the steamer Rusk brought down Confederate troops, and

we were made prisoners of war, and taken to Galveston, and received there by a Confederate Captain and engineer. Then started for New Orleans, and were received at Fort Butler amid cheering of soldiers and firing of guns. When we arrived in New Orleans, we were taken from the ship, under a heavy escort of infantry, to the railway station, and then forwarded to Mobile City, and from there to Montgomery, the capital. We arrived there after three days' passage, and were received by the War Department and taken before the Hon. Jefferson Davis, and his order was to take the two negroes and sell them, and appropriate the money to the Commonwealth. The idea of sending free negroes through here on a parole of honor was ridiculous. I was then taken by a man named Pink Williams, and transferred to his plantation. The other colored man was sold to another party in Wetumke. I staid with Williams three weeks; I then made my escape, taking with me the slave girl Sarah, placed there to watch me.—I went to Mobile City, where I shipped in an English vessel bound for Liverpool, taking the girl with me. The other colored man is still held in slavery in Montgomery City.'

ATTEMPT TO ENSLAVE SIX COLORED MEN.

The 'R. C. Wright,' Capt. Garland, arrived at New York August 4th, under the following peculiar circumstances:—It appears that the brig sailed from the island of Cuba, having on board an entire crew of colored men, who, when they learned she was bound to Baltimore, refused to go to that port, alleging that when they arrived there they would be sold into bondage. No persuasion or assurance on the part of the captain and his officers could alter the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on a measure in their minds, the only one by which they should escape a life of slavery. They took a favorable opportunity and rose *en masse*, and informed the captain and officers, if they persisted in going into Baltimore, they would, by force, take possession of the vessel and bring her into a Northern port. The superior numbers of the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Capt. Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and after vainly attempting to modify the exasperated negroes, he was obliged to alter his course. As the negroes insisted upon being brought to New York, the brig was headed up the coast and reached that port on the day stated. The negroes were taken in charge by an officer, and locked up in the station house. The next day they were discharged, and the Judge before whom they were examined took the necessary steps to libel the vessel for the wages of the crew.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

—Twenty confiscated negroes have been brought up to the Washington Navy Yard, and set at work there.

—Traitors Breckinridge and Vallandigham undertook to get up a meeting in Baltimore on the 8th ult., but the demonstration was chiefly on the Union side. The former made vain attempts to speak, but was hissed down by the crowd, and by the time he was crushed out, Vallandigham had vanished.

—The recent election in Kentucky resulted in the success of the Union party. The traitors Breckinridge and Powell will be requested to resign their seats in Congress.

—Garibaldi, who tendered his services to the Federal Government some months ago, has received an appointment of Major General in our army. He will soon arrive in this country.

—President Lincoln has appointed the last Thursday in September as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer.

—Recent advices from St. Domingo represent that the war between Hayti and Spain is at an end, the difficulties between the two countries being amicably adjusted. The Spanish authorities declare slavery forever abolished in the Island, and threaten with severe penalties any person endeavoring to reinstate the system.

—Sherman M. Booth, who has suffered so much on account of his opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, is about to start a daily paper at Milwaukee.

—One of the favorite Massachusetts songs, sung by the regiment under Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel Webster which recently left Boston to join the army, commences as follows:

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
His soul's march on!
Glory Hallelujah! Glory Hallelujah! Glory Hallelujah!
His soul's marching on!

The stanzas which follow are in the same wild strain:

2. He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord, etc.,
His soul's marching on!
3. John Brown's knapsack is strapped on his back, etc.,
His soul's marching on!
4. His pet lambs will meet him on the way, etc.,
They go marching on!

WELL DONE, CHICAGO!—The Board of Education of Chicago has opened the doors of the Normal School, in that city, to the admission of colored pupils. This action of its educational authorities stamps the Queen City of the Lakes as occupying the first rank in the march of human progress. Narrow-minded people complain bitterly, but they can give no good reason why the blessings of education should not be extended to all classes of the people, without distinction of nationality, condition, or hue of color. Well done, Chicago! you have acted nobly.

—On the return of several of the three months' regiments, quite a number of slaves managed to escape with them, passing themselves off as servants. This has now been stopped, and a strict watch is now kept on all negroes leaving Washington. The enforcement of this order has resulted in taking from the New York Fire Zouaves fourteen negroes, whom they were attempting to convey to that city.

—That noble man Gerrit Smith has recently given \$5 to each of the families of volunteers who have left Peterboro to fight in defence of the Federal Government.

TIME AT LAST MAKES ALL THINGS EVEN.—How just are the retributions of history! Virginia originated the heresy of State Rights run mad, which has culminated in Secession; beheld her, ground between the upper and nether mill stones. Missouri lighted the fires of civil war in Kansas; now they have burst out with redoubled fury upon her own soil.—It was done in the name of slavery; but the reaction which logically followed has given more impetus to the Emancipation movement in Missouri than all the Abolitionists of Christendom could have done in twenty years.—She sent forth her hordes to mob printing presses, overawe the ballot box, and substitute the bowie-knife and revolver for the civil law. Now her own area gleams with Federal bayonets, the rebels newspapers are suppressed by the file of soldiers, and the civil process supplanted by the strong military arm. Caliborne F. Jackson led one of these raids into Kansas, which overthrew the civil authorities and drove away honest citizens from the polls. To day, the poisoned chalice is commended to his own lips; a hunted fugitive from his chair of office and his home, he is deserted by friends, ruined in fortune, and the halter waits his neck. Thos. C. Reynolds, the late Lieut. Governor, is a German Jew, born on the Prague; his former name was Reinhold.—Twenty five years ago, in South Carolina, he advocated the right of secession, and did much to poison the public mind of that State. He, too, has his reward in disgrace and outlawry—not daring even to come within the borders of the State which so lately delighted to do him honor.—*Pittsburg Gazette.*

TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for *Douglass' Monthly* in Great Britain:

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place, Rev. Dr. CROFTS, North Parade.

London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E. C.

Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173, Trongate.

Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4, Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. WALTER S. PRINGLE.

Haytian Advertisements.

INVITATION.

Hayti will soon regain her ancient splendor. This marvelous soil that our fathers, blessed by God, conquered for us, will soon yield to us the wealth now hidden in its bosom. Let our black and yellow brethren, scattered through the Antilles, and North and South America, hasten to co-operate with us in restoring the glory of the Republic. Hayti is the common country of the black race. Our ancestors, in taking possession of it, were careful to announce in the Constitution that they published, that all the descendants of Africans, and of the inhabitants of the West Indies, belong by right to the Haytian family. The idea was grand and generous.

Listen, then, all ye negroes and mulattoes who, in the vast Continent of America, suffer from the prejudices of caste. The Republic calls you; she invites you to bring to her your arms and your minds. The regenerating work that she undertakes interests all colored people and their descendants, no matter what their origin or where their place of birth.

Hayti, regaining her former position, retaking her ancient sceptre as Queen of the Antilles, will be a formal denial, most eloquent and peremptory, against those detractors of our race who contest our desire and ability to attain a high degree of civilization. GEFFRARD.

CIRCULAR---No. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants, and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the

Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of those persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti.

JAMES REDPATH.

General Agent of Emigration.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR---No. III.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, July 1, 1861. }

AUTUMN ARRANGEMENTS.

Emigration is suspended until August 24th when it will be energetically resumed.

Arrangements will be made by which emigrants can sail from different ports during the autumn and winter. Due notice will be given of the days of sailing, through the columns of "The Pine and the Palm."

Persons desiring to emigrate are requested to read carefully the circulars of this Bureau, and to follow the directions therein given, as it is impossible to provide for the comfort of passengers except by insisting on a strict compliance with our regulations.

I. Let it be understood, that all who can pay for their passage are expected to do so; and that a passage will be advanced to such farmers and laborers only as are unable to meet this expense.

II. All mechanics who intend to practice their trades in Hayti, must go at their own expense; the Government guarantees to find work for farmers and laborers only. It will welcome all colored emigrants; but it cannot agree to provide work for all classes of mechanics. Its demands for agricultural labor is unlimited; but for mechanical skill this is not the case.

III. Passengers will be charged at the rate of \$18 each adult from United States ports; from Canadian ports \$25. Children under eight will be charged half price; infants under one year, free.

IV. Passengers, in all cases, should provide their own bedding. Mattresses must be four feet wide. Each passenger must be provided with a tin gallon can for water, a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

V. The amount of baggage allowed to every passenger is two trunks, or two barrels, or one trunk and one barrel. All freight over that amount will be charged for, separately from the passage ticket, at the rate of 75 cents per barrel or 15 cents per cubic foot from American ports; or 90 cents per barrel and 18 cents per cubic foot from British North American ports. This is exclusive of the bedding, which goes free.—All goods must be boxed up.

VI. The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Choice of either.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	98	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	7

Emigrants are at liberty to carry, free of expense, additional provisions to be used on the voyage. Slight additions may be made to the navy rations; but the Bureau does not pledge itself to do so.

VII. As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who do not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to how precisely the terms on which a single man

can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January] A. D., 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d' Hayti] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking.

Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. S.]
[L. S.]

[John Smith.]
JAMES REDPATH.

VIII. Emigrants must pay their expenses to the port of embarkation.

IX. To aid emigrants who wish to carry extra baggage, the Bureau will allow them, (by giving a note payable to the Government of Hayti,) to take such freight to the amount of \$10.

X. The Bureau wishes it to be distinctly understood, however, that unless at least twenty days notice is given of intention to sail, with the amount of baggage to be taken, it will not hold itself responsible to secure a passage for any one.

XI. All persons desiring information relative to the movement, are cordially invited to correspond with the General Bureau, or personally to visit it. The fullest information will be afforded them.

XII. Usual length of voyage, from fourteen to twenty days.

A. E. NEWTON,

Corresponding Secretary.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY HON. GERRIT SMITH; containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
No. 121 Nassau-st., New York.

—A bill 'to prevent amalgamation of the different races of men' has lately been passed by the California Legislature. The bill makes it a penal offence for any white person to intermarry with any 'colored person,' whether of the African or Asiatic races.